

# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—1837 & 1897: TWO YEARS OF CALAMITIES. A HISTORICAL PARALLEL.

THE two years 1837 and 1897 have been placed in juxtaposition very frequently of late in connexion with the Diamond Jubilee celebrations and commemorations throughout the British Empire; but few persons are aware of the existence of another reason, in the shape of a remarkable parallelism, for placing them together. I refer to the common calamities, equally dire and crushing, by which both these years were marked. The Diamond Jubilee year of 1897 has been to India a year of woes unnumbered. Plague, famine, fire, earthquake, cholera, political disturbances on the frontier and discontent among large classes, secret plots and open riots, these form the budget of India's calamities during the present year.

Many people say that this is unprecedented, and that the oldest man alive has not seen the like of such a year. But there lives in the memory of a few very old men another year in the past history of the country which was fraught with not only as many, but almost the same, calamities as the past year. And that year, strange to say, was the very year of the commencement of the glorious reign the great and unique length of which we have lately commemorated so heartily. The year 1837, from which the epoch of Victoria dates, was just as much an *annus mirabilis* in India as 1897. Nearly every calamity under which the country is groaning at present, or has been lately groaning, may be paralleled from the records of that year. In fact, with the single exception of the terrible earthquake and the doubtful exception of widespread discontent and disaffection, all the other calamities are identical in the two years. There was, to begin with, the plague, which, if not as widespread, was even more disastrous in point of mortality. And the plague was not the only disease which then afflicted the country. Cholera in its worst form broke out in Calcutta and Bombay, carrying off hundreds every week; and in a slightly less virulent form at Lucknow and in

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Madras. There was yellow fever, too, which raged at Moradabad and destroyed 1,800 people in three months in that small city; while remittent fever prevailed in several districts of the North-Western Provinces. Then there was drought and famine throughout Hindustan, in Bengal, in Orissa, in the North-West, in Oude, in Baluchistan; nor did the South entirely escape. The suffering owing to famine in the north was appalling. At Agra, it is noted by a contemporary writer, the magistrates employed sixty thousand of the poor, and the poor-house fed four thousand daily, and yet "the people died like very dogs." "I traversed the banks of the river," says another writer, "and heard that mothers watch an opportunity at night to throw their children alive into the Jumna. A person coming up the river assured us that he saw dogs and jackals actually devouring bodies in which life was not extinct."

The very elements seemed then to be at war with man. Fire, air and water all revolted against their laws and tried to overwhelm their devoted victims. Calcutta suffered severely from a series of disastrous fires. An idea of their frequency and extent will be obtained from the fact that in the first four months of the year they numbered 55, and the houses burnt 8030! nor was Calcutta the only sufferer from fire. The prosperous city of Surat was almost entirely burnt down by what is allowed to have been the most terrific conflagration of the century in India. That great city has never since recovered from the blow inflicted on it by the great fire of 1837. The starting of relief subscriptions was thought necessary in England and the people there sent a large sum. After the fire came heavy floods in Surat and destroyed what had been spared. Khandeish, too, suffered from the floods. There was a terrific hailstorm at Secunderabad. Bombay was visited by one of the most destructive hurricanes that ever occurred on its shores. Madras had already suffered from a similar hurricane a few weeks before the beginning of the year; yet that city did not escape entirely from the fury of the winds and waves. A series of accidents occurred on the beach there which caused the loss of several valuable English lives. What is described in the papers of the time as a terrible "phenomenon," but in all likelihood was a cyclone, occurred at Jessore, causing extensive loss of life and property. Earth alone, of the four elements, remained quiet in that year, though one district, Moradabad, suffered even from earthquakes, which continued to occur there for several months. So, then, we have here the great fire of Barhampore and the floods of Burdwan of 1897 more than matched by similar calamities in 1837.

Coming from troubles caused by Nature to man to those



caused by man to himself, we find the year 1837 marked by riots between Hindus and Mahomedans in various parts of the country—at Shahjehanpore and Bareilly in the north, and at Bhewendy near Bombay. So we have here an analogue to the Chitpur riots at Calcutta. The year 1837 witnessed, in addition, an insurrection of prisoners in the jail in Aracan. As regards political troubles, we find to the front, in 1837, Hyderabad where one British officer was actually assassinated and another high officer narrowly escaped assassination. The Madras army stationed at Secunderabad was reported to be in a state of great disaffection and some of the men did wild things. Several native officers were shot dead by the privates. But disaffection was spread far beyond the ranks of the native army. Sir Charles Metcalfe, in a famous minute written only a couple of years before 1837, declared his firm conviction that “we have no hold on the affections of Indians ; more than that, disaffection is universal.”\* There was an actual manifestation of this disaffection in the long and stubborn insurrection in Canara during the year on question ; while troubles were already brewing on our North-West frontier which were soon to break out in the disastrous Afghan war that began in the next year.

There is one notable exception to the parallel between 1837 and 1897 : the Vernacular Press in the former year did not cause anxiety as it unfortunately did in that just brought to a close. The *Friend of India* of January 5th, 1837, thus winds up its review of the first year of the freedom of the Press granted by Metcalfe:—“We can most solemnly assure the Executive Government that there is no fear for twenty years to come that any native journal well either set the Ganges on fire or make an Editor’s fortune.”

It is curious to see how such years of great catastrophes are connected with the most important events in the life and reign of our great Queen. The year of Her birth was marked by the greatest earthquake of modern times in India, that of 1819, whose ravages may yet be traced after nearly eighty years in several cities. The year of her accession was the terrible year whose disasters form the subject of our present article. Her proclamation as Empress of India was in the year of one the greatest famines of this century. And now her Diamond Jubilee year has been a year of terrible, though not unprecedented, disasters. But between these great dates, which serve as landmarks, there lies a period of widespread, great and steady prosperity and progress, unretarded in the main by these occasional lapses.

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\* Metcalfe’s Papers, Ed. Kaye, p. 193, ed. 1855.

We will now proceed to go into some details regarding the various disasters of 1837 which we have touched on above in general terms.

PLAGUE.—To take first the plague, though it did not rage in the year 1837 and 1838 as it raged in the past year when it ravaged the whole of Western India, still this fell disease was violent enough and carried off innumerable victims, besides causing widespread alarm and panic among the inhabitants of Northern India. When the first signs of it appeared, a correspondent, writing from Saugor to a London Paper, in April, 1837, says: "A greater degree of security prevailed, as it was supposed the plague would not exist in the climate of India; nor has it ever been known, except for a few weeks in 1819-20, and then soon disappeared." And he exclaims truly: "What a dreadful thing to think of and expect!" Yes, it was, in spite of the belief of security, upon them. It is curious to see how people in 1837, like some in 1897, at first tried hard to convince themselves and others that it was not the plague, but something else, that was visiting them. "Some thought the disease was mistaken, and in general it was thought to be a mistake altogether; the cold weather, it was hoped, would stop it; but it has only increased." The *Courier* tries to comfort its readers by quoting the following extract from a letter received from Neemuch, which it hopes will assist in dissipating any alarm that may have existed lest the Palee disease should turn out to be the plague:—"As you will probably be led by the newspapers to suppose that it is the plague which is committing such ravages at Palee, I beg to state, from what the superintending surgeon (who has, no doubt, received the best intelligence on the subject) says, it does not appear to be the plague. It is nothing more than a bad fever, engendered by the filth and confined atmosphere of that town, the streets being remarkably narrow, and the houses remarkably high. The papers mention that the kafilah (caravan) of Zorawar Mull brought the disease with it to Palee, on its return from Guzerat. This, however, proves incorrect; no sickness accompanied the kafilah. Seven thousand or eight thousand people having fled from Palee to the adjacent villages, the contagion (if plague) would hardly have confined itself to the former place." And the paper adds: "Accounts received from Bombay confirm this intelligence. The disease is a putrid fever, a mere endemic, which has occasioned a great loss of life but was fast decreasing. It had been from the first confined to Palee and to people who had fled from the town after catching the distemper."\*

But the facts were against this optimist view. The plague first

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\* *Asiatic Journal* XXIII, p. 16.



broke out at Palee in Mairwara, Rajputana. Captain Dixon, the political authority there, states that the sickness first appeared about the middle of August, 1836, and, after a lapse of fourteen days, extended itself to all castes and classes. Early in September the people died in the town at the rate of between fifty and sixty daily, while there was a general exodus of the inhabitants to the neighbouring places, where, however, they did not carry the fell disease at first. As regards the symptoms, Captain Dixon says : " The first symptoms of the disease are fever, prostration of strength, eyes burning and the whole system aching ; tumours are immediately formed in the groin and behind the ears, and in three or four days the sufferer dies ; only one or two in a hundred have escaped. It first attacked the Chhipis, or Musulman cloth-printers, who are said to have lost three hundred individuals. The disease next manifested itself among the Brahmans, the Mahajuns and Soucars were then attacked, when, after a lapse of fifteen days, it is said to have extended to all castes and classes."

Palee contained 12,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,200 died and 8,000 fled. Dr. Irving, who went specially to Palee to study the disease from its first breaking out, and who had the best opportunities for the purpose, had no hesitation in reporting it to Government as " the true plague." It soon began to spread over the country ; and an alarm was raised throughout the Upper Provinces. It made its appearance within thirty miles of Nuseerabad and committed great ravages in Marwar, where 50,000 inhabitants are said to have been swept away. Delhi was alarmed ; the Government was roused ; and orders were sent, in April, 1837, for the immediate adoption of measures to interrupt the progress of the plague, which appeared to spread to the eastward of its original home in Rajputana. " Cordons round the great cities, inquiries into the symptoms of the disorder, so as to put people upon their guard elsewhere, the fumigation of letters and parcels, and the establishment of quarantine, where feasible in a vast country, furnishing so very few natural barriers to the progress of the plague, are a few of the principal measures resorted to, and it is hoped that these, assisted by the hot weather, will prevent the scourge from becoming so general as is at present apprehended."

The plague raged throughout the year in various places in the North-Western Provinces, carrying terror into the neighbouring Presidency of Bengal. Calcutta was thoroughly aroused, and the papers of the day are full of urgent advice about preventive measures. The *Bengal Hurkaru* says : " There are in Calcutta many public offices and houses of business, particularly in the Burra Bazaar, where communications are almost daily received from the districts where the plague is now raging,

and we have not yet heard of any measures adopted to guard against the introduction of the plague in this city by means of such vehicles. Should the disease ever make its appearance in the crowded parts of the native town, no measure would be capable of arresting its progress; removal, separation and blockade of houses in the Burra Bazaar and its neighbourhood, appear to us equally impracticable." This sounds like an echo of what Calcutta was saying at the beginning of the plague of 1896-97. The Hindus then, as now, were busy with their theory of causation, and the *Reformer* of Calcutta stated that the Hindu community believed the disease to be a visitation from heaven for the political sins of our Government. But this theory, absurd as it is, is not half so silly as that seriously advanced by a Parsi high priest in this year of grace 1897, that the plague in Bombay was caused by the building of a new fire-temple by a rival party close to his own! The stars in their courses fought once for Sisera; so now this over-pious Dastur wants to convince his benighted flock that Heaven is fighting the battle of his fire-temple by sending down the plague! But, oddly enough for this precious theory, the Dastur's champion ravages his own flock as impartially as that of his rival, as well as many other flocks which had nothing to do with either party and did not even know of this battle of kites and crows! But Providence is blind!

As regards the preventive measures taken by the Government, the coincidence between the years 1837 and 1897 is remarkable. We all know how these measures have been received by the Indian communities in our day. The reception of sixty years ago was, if not quite identical—there seem happily to have been no murders of officials then—very similar. Sir Charles Metcalfe was then the ruler of the North-Western Provinces, which had just been formed into a Lieutenant-Governorship; and the task of initiating preventive measures devolved upon him. Those he adopted were vigorous, if not drastic, and drew forth a strong protest from the people. "Metcalfe at once determined," says his biographer, "to adopt stringent sanitary measures to arrest the progress of the pestilence, but in such a country as India, and in such a part of it as that in which the disease had broken out, the difficulty of enforcing them was extreme. Wise and vigorous as were his measures, and true as was the humanity that informed them, the exponents of native opinion were not slow to declare that they were unsuited to the inveterate prejudices of the people; but Metcalfe believed, that in such a crisis it was his duty to take a larger view of the question, and to save the people in spite of themselves." All this may be said, to the very letter, of the officials at the head of plague operations



this year. The Governor-General of the time, Lord Auckland, supported his Lieutenant strongly, and wrote to him saying: "I think you have done all that can be done against the plague, and you have fully anticipated whatever I ventured to suggest."

Metcalf's \* Minute would be well worth quoting just now ; but unfortunately it is not given in the volume of selections from his papers by his biographer. In the Asiatic Journal, (Vol. XXIV, 1837) however, is given a good summary of it, which we may quote here. "The first measure he directs is the establishment of a cordon of posts along the frontiers, which is to prevent the ingress, into British Territories, of any person from the infected or suspected quarter, without undergoing a quarantine. The precautions prescribed in carrying this measure into effect, are detailed in the Minute and insisted on with earnestness. Having fully explained the measures he would have the local authorities adopt to prevent the introduction of the pestilence into the interior, he calls the attention of the authorities to the steps which would be necessary in case the disease, notwithstanding the preventive cordon, were to insinuate itself into any of the towns and villages there. Every possible attention to the prejudices of caste is strictly enjoined on the observance of those who are to have charge of the patients in these establishments ; but it is required that no consideration for the rank or the objections of the individuals concerned be permitted to prevent their separation or removal from relations and houses, on the ground that the safety of the community depends upon these precautions. The local authorities have, however, the option, in cases of necessity, of allowing the inmates of an infected house to continue in it ; but then the building is to be strictly blockaded, and guarded as if it were a separate hospital.

The difficulties consequent on the requisite separation of near and dear relations from each other, under such direful circumstances, are fully appreciated by Sir Charles Metcalfe ; and the only means he can suggest in case of parties refusing to separate is, that the healthy should accompany the sick to the hospitals and be subjected to the severe rules in force in those establishments. The houses from which infected persons may be removed are to be purified, with all the articles in them. The greatest care is prescribed in keeping the streets and drains of every town and village clean ; and all sorts of filth, rags, etc., found in them, or in the houses of infected persons, are to be burned, and the ashes buried ; for even ashes have been known to convey this dreadful pest from place to place. In case the disease should spread, the inhabitants are to be confined to

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\* Kaye's Life of Metcalfe, Vol. II., p. 180, ed. 858.

their respective houses, and have their food furnished to them under the rules prescribed for the hospitals and the towns and villages in which contagion exists ; and they are to be cut off from free intercourse with other places, and kept under a strict blockade. Dresses made of oil-skin and tar, and frequent friction with oil have been found the best preservative against contagion, when contact with infected persons cannot possibly be avoided. But the grand means of checking and annihilating the plague is the prevention of contact with infected persons.\*

It has been asserted, during the epidemic of this year, that the calamity was entirely new and unexperienced in India before, and that the authorities had no precedent to follow in their preventive measures. Well, here there is an excellent precedent in this Minute of Metcalfe's. I do not know whether this has been noted by any one before ; at least I have not seen it noted. The measures adopted this year resemble in most respects those ordered by Metcalfe in 1837.

Such measures, in spite of the care prescribed to respect native prejudices, did not, as was natural, escape strong objection. The *Reformer* of Calcutta said : " The more we read of the disease now raging in Rajputana, the more we become convinced of the impracticability, nay, the injurious tendency of some of the measures prescribed by Sir Charles Metcalfe for checking the evil. The dragging out of children and wives from the houses of wealthy and respectable natives and incarcerating them in a lazaretto are measures which, under existing circumstances, instead of producing any good, will be the cause of spreading the contagion more widely ; those who ought to be removed will be left at home, and those who should be left at home will be removed to the lazaretto, there to catch the very disease we dread, and thus widen the sphere of devastation. The extortions which would be practised on the healthy as a ransom from the fangs of the quarantine officers are incalculable. We fear all will, one time or another, be exposed to extortion by these harpies, commissioned by Government to violate the hitherto unseen zenanas of the respectable people. The quarantine laws of the Levant, where the plague is familiar to all, are in many respects unsuited to this country. We therefore trust the Lieutenant-Governor will use every precaution to guard against abuses, to which his plans, devised with the best intention, are open."

That this apprehension of blackmail was not quite imaginary, we find from the *Englishman* of May 19th, 1837, which says : " As a drawback to this satisfactory state of things, we perceive it stated, that the cordon on the Muttra frontier is relaxed by the connivance of the police, who levy a

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\* Vol. XXI, pp. 64-65.



tax for permitting parties to pass outward or inward. This was to have been expected from the venality of the native character ; but the mischief which is likely to result from the practice is so great that prompt measures ought to be taken to put it down, by a severe example being made of the parties engaged in it." After ravaging many districts, Jodhpoor, for instance, contributing not less than 16,000 of its people to the mortality from this cause, the plague died out towards the close of the year. But it broke out again in December in its original home at Palee, and the people again fled from the place, "carrying the seeds of the disease wheresoever they appear."\*

FAMINE.—There was a great drought in 1837 throughout Bengal and the Upper provinces, which caused a very heavy famine. This was heralded by a hot season of unprecedented severity. "The present season," says the *Friend of India* of the time, "has been one of the most extraordinary within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. The rains which usually follow the summer heat have been denied us. During May and June the heat has been beyond all precedent ; and never did the traveller in the sandy waste gaze more ardently for the sparkling of the desert spring, than we have looked for one shower to water the blistering earth and cool the heated atmosphere. The ponds are universally dry, and the poor have suffered for want of water beyond what those who reside on the banks of the river can well imagine : many have dropped down in the streets, and on ship-board died. So excessive, indeed, has been the heat, that in nearly all the colleges and in most of the public offices in Calcutta and its vicinity, it has been found necessary to commence work at dawn and to close at eleven in the morning ; an event not known at Calcutta during the present century. The hot season, from which we have just escaped will long be remembered in India as the severest which has been experienced during this century," The thermometer readings were, at 9 in the morning 98°, at noon 106°, and at 2 P.M. 110°, all in the shade. The usual rains kept off, and there was a decided drought. 'So decided a drought is not within our experience of twelve years in Calcutta,' said the *Courier*. Nor was it confined to the capital. The most lamentable accounts of drought came from all quarters. The country people deserted their villages in Burdwan and other districts. There was famine in Baloochistan, Oude, Behar, Orissa and many other places. The Baloochees were so much distressed that they took to infesting the highways, and desolation, murder and rapine followed in their train. The ryots of Oude refused to pay revenue to their king,

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\* *Asiatic Journal* XXV, p. 212.

and as the king could not dispense with it, we are told, 'there is a furious sacrifice of life every day, in a struggle for the needful.' In Cuttack, it was reported in December 1837, the famine reached a frightful extent, causing thefts and gang robberies to increase every day. Water was so scarce that in certain places in the Bengal Presidency it sold at six *culsies* for the rupee. The mortality in Behar was terrible, and there were no signs of rain.

As the year advanced, the distress grew wider and overtook nearly the whole of the Upper Provinces. Rohtuk, Gurgaon, Panipat, and other districts were in great straits. Rajputana was badly off, and the people poured into adjoining British territories. The Government did much to alleviate the sufferings of the poor, but there was little of the systematic relief which has been organised since the famine of 1876-77.

As regards Metcalfe's exertions in the directing of relief his biographer says: "A mightier evil (than the plague) was the drought which parched up the North-Western Provinces, broke the staff of bread, and afflicted the people with famine. But a famine in India is an evil beyond the reach of human statesmanship to remedy or greatly alleviate. What, under such circumstances, could be done to mitigate the sufferings of the people was done, as 'doubtless by any other governor' it would have been done; but still those sufferings were terrible, and clouded the last year of Metcalfe's connection with the government of India. He received due praise in public addresses, for his "judicious efforts for the relief of the distressed population during this calamitous year;" but he knew how little could be effected by human agency to diminish the horrors of such a visitation.\*

Human agency, we have seen, this year, could do much to diminish such horrors, and herein is the great difference between the famine of 1837 and that of 1897. The unprepared state of the Indian Government in those days to meet a famine was made the subject of severe comment at the time. A competent writer, writing in the next year, when the famine had grown worse, thus criticises the supineness of the authorities: 'Was the Bengal Government—the Supreme Government of India, the seat of legislation, the focus of power—was this Government, I say, better prepared than the Local Governments were to meet the impending evil? Alas! No. . . . Is it not evident that the Bengal Government also has been 'tried in the balance and found wanting'?—that, as the Bombay and the Madras Government in former years were overtaken, surprised, and paralysed by the famine, so it has happened to the Supreme

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\* Kaye's Life of Metcalfe, Vol. II, pp. 180-81.



Government at the present time?—that nothing has been learnt from experience, and that if a remedy is to be provided, it is still to be suggested ?”\*

PESTILENCE (CHOLERA AND FEVER).—In the wake of Famine, as is usual, followed the dire diseases of cholera and fever. Cholera raged during 1837 in all parts of India and all the three capitals, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, besides other large cities like Lucknow, were attacked. “The excessive heat, the unusual drought and the continued prevalence of the hot winds, of this season, aided by the brief and sudden change of temperature caused by very indifferent showers have produced a scourge not less awful than the plague itself—that dreadful malady, the cholera. It is now raging among the natives, and considerable terror seems to pervade the inhabitants in consequence of the fearful mortality which it has created. All the places on the river side for the accommodation of the dying sick, when carried thither, are occupied ; and funeral piles are seen, day and night, blazing almost without intermission, at the burning place at Nimtolla. Indeed, in one instance, 14 dead bodies were carried there at a late hour of the night to be burnt, 13 of which had been the victims of cholera, and almost all of them had been taken ill that very day.”† Lucknow was worse off. One account states the victims to have been from 700 to 1,000 daily. ‘Some families were attacked and almost all swept away within 24 hours.’ It raged also in various parts of the Madras Presidency. At Secunderabad the elephants, too, were attacked, and 27 are said to have died within a short period, out of 200.‡

At Cawnpore, it carried off many of the European soldiery. Later in the year, it travelled to the South and raged with violence in many parts of the Deccan, causing great mortality in Sholapore and Poona especially. Many of the regiments moving through the country were attacked. It seemed to have travelled regularly from Hyderabad westward, and from Panwell came to the city of Bombay, where it raged fearfully in December. At first the death-rate from it was about 36, but it rose to nearly 100, a day. But at Agra from 200 to 300 people were carried off daily.

Next after cholera there were remittent fever and yellow fever. The former raged in the Panipat and Rohtuk district, destroying thousands of people. The latter appeared in Moradabad, where 1,800 people died, in the city alone, in three months. There was a severe visitation of sickness at Kamptee in June. Seven officers and two ladies fell victims to it, in

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\* *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 270-71,

† *Friend of India*, June 22, 1837.

‡ *Madras Herald*, July 29, 1837.

addition to many European soldiers. The symptoms of the disease were simply a sense of sudden indisposition, followed by a general sinking, unaccompanied by pain \*.

FIRES.—The year 1837 was noted for most disastrous fires in several parts of the country. Calcutta in this, as in many other disasters, takes the lead. But Surat was a great sufferer. Much as that famous city has suffered from fires, that of 1837 has been burnt into the memory of its inhabitants in a terrible manner. The fire originated, it was said, in a quantity of ghee accidentally falling into the fire where a woman was preparing her evening meal, and the flame, ascending to the roof, ignited the building.† Owing to this happening in the most populous part of the city, where the houses were chiefly of wood, which the recent hot winds had rendered dry and combustible, and a high wind rising at the time, the fire spread with unexampled rapidity, and it became impossible to get it under. Within a few hours it covered an area of three miles, while there were only six or seven engines to play upon it. Some reports state the number of houses destroyed to have been 20,000; none put it below 5,000. In any case, the loss of property was immense, and it was accompanied by the loss of many lives. The misery, distress and destitution of the people consequent on the calamity were great indeed. The Government, on learning the news, placed Rs. 50,000 at the disposal of the Collector and acting Judge at Surat, who had been appointed a committee, to be advanced, on loan or otherwise, to the sufferers, as the committee might consider most in accordance with the benevolent designs of Government. All duties leviable on articles of food and building material, imported into and exported from other places for Surat were remitted, while a premium on grain imported into Surat for the consumption of the place was authorised.

Another account sent by Mr. Farish, member of Council at Bombay, to Lord Clare and Mountstuart Elphinstone, gives further harrowing details. "The loss of property to the shroffs and native bankers, whose only security for heavy sums owing to them lay in the property destroyed, has been immense, and men of wealth up to the hour of the fire occurring are now reduced to poverty, with little or no chance of recovering their losses. Bodies were discovered in such a position as to indicate that the parties had perished in the very act of escaping, with money and gold and silver ornaments found in their hands. The loss of life has been immense, and, as far as has yet been reported, no less than 500 are stated to have perished. Great

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\* *Madras Spectator*, 28th June, 1837.

† *Asiatic Journal* XXIV, p. 83.



numbers of cattle likewise have been burnt, and the whole scene is one of widespread ruin and desolation. The number of houses destroyed is said to be upwards of six thousand, and, from the dense population Surat contains, some faint idea of the misery and wretched state of the poor inhabitants may be conceived ; most of them are left without food or shelter, and life has been but preserved to sink under famine and want. Whole families have been dispersed, parents are seeking their children, and children their natural protectors, so that, besides being deprived of all the property they possessed, numbers have to bewail the loss of their nearest and dearest relatives."

Public subscriptions were started in Bombay for the relief of the sufferers and a lakh and-a-half was soon subscribed. The Parsis, as usual, were to the front in relief measures, and the great philanthropist of the day, Jamsetji Jijibhoy, who had not yet been knighted, the moment he heard of the disaster, despatched a ship with rice and other necessities of life worth Rs. 20,000 from Bombay to Surat, whilst two prominent Parsis of Surat itself, Bomanji Bhownuggree and the famous Ardeshir Bahadur Kotwal, fed several thousand people daily for many months. Sympathy was aroused in England also and a goodly sum was subscribed and sent to Surat, Elphinstone, Lord Clare and Sir Charles Forbes each giving £100. The unfortunate city suffered from another fire towards the close of the year, which, though it destroyed a hundred houses more, was far less severe in its effects, for the simple reason that there was little left to be burnt.

The same week which witnessed the fire in Surat also saw an almost equally disastrous fire in Calcutta. "We never saw such a destructive and general fire in Calcutta as occurred this day and still continues to burn," is the comment of the *Hurkaru* of the day. 'The dismal sweep made by the whole was more unsparing than usual, and the rapidity of the conflagration was so greatly beyond all past experience, that no doubt can exist of its having been planned and too successfully perpetrated by a gang of incendiaries.' But the great fire of April 27th was but one of a series preceding and following it. Calcutta, in fact, was suffering, it seems, from an epidemic of fires, which amounted, according to the *Hurkaru* of May 6th, to 55, destroying 8,030 houses ! The Bengal *Courier* comments thus : "The dreadful conflagrations that have, during the past week, spread misery and suffering throughout Calcutta and the environs, are, we believe, unprecedented in extent. Bazaars have been burnt down by the mile ; and what has been hitherto a very rare occurrence, pukka, brick-built houses, inhabited by persons of respectable rank in society, have been burnt down, enveloped in the general mass of conflagration. In one instance a fire ad-

vancing in one direction was only checked by encountering another which proceeded from the opposite point of the compass. It would seem that the evil will not cease till the whole of the fuel in town and the neighbourhood, that is to say, every hut of the miserable natives, be consumed."

A disastrous fire occurred also in the city of Midnapore and consumed two-thirds of that large place. Poona, too, suffered in this way, and nearly the entire town of Gowalparah in Assam was burnt down; whilst in the beginning of the next year the city of Mozufferpore in Tirhoot was almost reduced to ashes by the same calamity. So here we have, in 1837, a counterpart, or probably more than a counterpart, of the calamities by fire this year, terrible as these are,—nearly half of the ancient city of Barhampore destroyed and the rich palace of the Mysore *Raj* entirely burnt down.

FLOODS.—Surat, within four months after the fire, was visited, in August, 1837, by another awful calamity. The Tapti rose, on the 20th August, to a great height, and much of the city was under water for the three days which elapsed before the river subsided. On the night of the 28th the river again rose with incredible rapidity and completely inundated the whole of the surrounding country for many miles. The city itself was completely under water, with the exception of one or two streets—the flood rising over the roofs of the houses in all the lower parts of the town. The loss of human and animal life and of property was great. The water rose considerably higher than in the great flood of 1822. The rise of the Tapti which injured Surat also caused heavy inundations in Khandeish, from which district there came a deplorable account of the loss of human life, houses and property. The Collector of the district wrote: 'You will observe with deep concern, that 52 villages have been entirely swept away; the present list contains 83 villages partially injured, but several mamlutdars have not been able to frame their returns as yet, and many calamities are yet, I am told, still to be enumerated.'

STORMS.—Secunderabad suffered from a tremendous hail-storm in which some of the stones were two inches in diameter, "fully as large as middle-sized potatoes;" and the city exhibited the appearance of having suffered a cannonade. Madras had suffered two months before the beginning of this year 1837, from a tremendous hurricane. There was no great calamity from the elements there during the year. But there were some serious and fatal accidents in the surf there, in which many European officers lost their lives, and which caused a great sensation, especially owing to the culpable negligence of some of the harbour authorities. From Jessore there was news of what was called 'a strange phenomenon.' 'A column of vapour,



which darkened the air, was observed to rise in the west, directly over the canal, which it approached with inconceivable violence, converting the substantial residence of the principal Babu there into a heap of ruins, whirling 40 or 50 huts into the air and killing 14 of the inmates. Continuing its devastating progress, it swept everything formed by nature or art in its path. Human beings, as well as cattle, trees, and boats with their contents, are described as being borne upwards, where, acquiring a spiral motion, they were as suddenly thrown to the ground with great force in all directions. The loss of life was about 100. This, then, is the counterpart, in 1837, of the far more terrible cyclone of Chittagong of 1897.

Bombay was visited by a terrific hurricane, indeed the most terrific from which it has ever suffered, with the doubtful exception of that of 1851. The old *Bombay Gazette* calls it 'the severest gale that has visited Bombay within the memory of man.' "No language can describe the scene of desolation the harbour presented about 2 P. M., when the gale abated a little: the bay was strewn with bales of cotton and parts of the wrecks of boats and ships; in the Back Bay the dead were washed out of their graves and floated about the shore; the roofs of houses were torn off, trees blown down, and buggies and other conveyances capsized. There was scarcely a dry house on the island, and goods to a great amount were destroyed in the godowns. But, perhaps, nothing can show the strength of the wind more than the state of the light-house during the gale; for, strongly built as it is, it tottered on its base and seemed momentarily on the point of falling. The officer in charge was blown off his legs and the upper roof of his powder magazine forced off entire, and pitched on the roof of the adjoining guard-room, which it completely demolished. The roofs of some of the terraces in the Fort were carried away in the mass and were to be seen floating along on the wind as if they had been but mere Pullicat handkerchiefs. Out of nearly 50 vessels in the harbour, scarcely more than 6 were to be found, which have not more or less suffered from the gale. Upwards of 400 houses in the native town have been destroyed; and in the Fort, the *Courier* office was materially injured. The proceedings of the Supreme Court were suspended." The East India Company suffered a loss of a lakh of rupees owing to the loss of two steamers and two ships of its fleet, and half a lakh more owing to the loss of cargo.

RIOTS.—The year 1837 was marked by several riots in various parts of the country between the Hindus and Mahomedans. These were chiefly during the period of the Mohurram of the latter. As in the case of the Chitpur riots of the present year, there were many signs of hostility to the Europeans

and general disaffection among the Mahomedans. Speaking of the disturbances at Shahjehanpore, the *Agra Ukhbar* of April 29th, 1837, says : "The most alarming disaffection to Government has been shown by the Mahomedans, and unless some extraordinary punishment of a general nature is inflicted in the present instance, the audacity displayed must be looked upon as an index of future disturbances of a more serious kind." The riots in that district began with the Mahomedans killing the Hindus and burning their street. But it assumed a more dangerous aspect when spread it through the entire district. Four villages were seen in flames at the same time and thirteen dead and wounded were found in another. In one purganah several of the police officers were wounded. But, by the capture of nearly 700 of the rioters, quiet was restored. "From a fact which transpired, that the rioters were not of the poorer classes, it would appear that some other motive than hunger drove them to their violent proceedings."

At Bareilly, too, there was a severe collision between the two religions. The Mahomedans were unwilling that the Hindus should celebrate their Ramnavmi festival with music in the streets, as their Mohurram was being celebrated at the same time. The authorities, coming to know of this, placed troops in the city to prevent disturbances. But, when these were withdrawn, the Mahomedans attacked the Hindus and there was a free fight, with numerous casualties. The Kotwal and Nazir of the city were found to be the chief aggressors on the Mahomedan side. The *Agra Ukhbar* severely commented on the attitude of the leading Mahomedans : "The principal Mussulmans appeared ostensibly in the characters of peace-makers, and the controllers of the ruffian mob of the city. They co-operated, apparently zealously, with the civil authorities, in endeavours to repress any outbreak during the Mohurram ; but the fact of that outbreak having taken place, proved how insincere and ineffectual their efforts were. Their endeavours to preserve peace consisted, if our authority be correct, in representing to these fanatical ruffians, that they should bide their time, and that God would afford them many more favourable opportunities of asserting His and their cause by the murder of the Hindus. They added another and a more intelligent reason, that Government were on the *qui vive*, and determined to secure to the Hindus, to the utmost of their power, the full and unmolested exhibition of their indecent but otherwise harmless mummery. These representations were partially effectual ; but it is clear, we cannot place any confidence in the support of the head Mussulmans of Bareilly. Their covert countenance and connivance are further seen in the now notorious fact that several secret conspiracies have been organised



at that time, the objects of which are the murder and spoliation of the Hindus." Condemning the steps taken by the local authorities, the same paper says that they were just conciliatory enough to effect the very reverse of what they were expected to do. These were in the shape of advice to the Hindus to waive their right to what the British Government guaranteed them, and, by conceding a trifling point, purchase that forbearance from the Mahomedans which Government were unable to enforce. The point of such an argument would be at once visible to bolder people than the Hindus of Bareilly; and they acted upon it. "Buswant Rao, whose capacity for comprehending such a line of argument had been considerably increased by the previous attempt on his life, as the principal Hindu of the place, subscribed to the agreement, by which he conceded all the points of dispute between the Hindus and Mussulmans, and, as far as his religious liberty was concerned, placed himself in the position he would have occupied under the Government of the renowned Hafiz Khan were that worthy in the place of the British Government" (in Rohilcund). These strictures are specially interesting just now in the light of the rumour that spread so widely at first as regards the conduct of the Government in the Chitpur Mosque affair.

At Bhewendy, in the Bombay Presidency, another riot broke out, precisely under the same circumstances as that at Bareilly. The Mohurram and Ramnavmi festivals falling on the same day caused a collision between the rival religionists. The Mahomedans, as usual, were the aggressors. They intimidated the Hindus into stopping their customary processions. But the latter passively retaliated by abstaining from taking any part in the Mohurram festival as musicians, coolies, carrying *taboots*, &c. The Mahomedans were enraged at this and desecrated several Hindu temples, killing and assaulting Brahmans. At Bassein, too, a similar riot took place, but not with so much violence. At Bhewendy the Mahomedans returned to the attack after a fortnight, and some of them threw lighted hay upon the warehouse of a leading Banian merchant, whereby that and fifteen or sixteen houses were burnt down. "This has thrown the Hindus into such a state of consternation that every man seems to consider his life and property as held only upon the tenure of the pleasure of the Mahomedan population, against whom, from their superior numbers and greater wealth and influence, the Hindus are afraid to prefer any charges in a public court. Such an alarming aspect do things bear, that a vast number of Hindus have resolved upon leaving the country, should no check be placed upon the present scenes of violence and insult." A check was placed, and many rioters were punished by the Supreme Court.

The prisoners in the jail at Arracan, in the then recently acquired Burmese province, rose against their keepers in a body, overpowered the sentries, and, seizing these men's arms, made a rush at the open gates. For a time they were having their own way ; but the arrival of two or three European officers on the scene made the sepoys steady, and they fired upon the prisoners and drove them into the jail at the point of the bayonet. Nine of them, including the ring-leader, were killed, while nine more were wounded. Two of the keepers also died.

INSURRECTION.—The province of Canara, then belonging to Madras, was in a state of open rebellion this year and gave much trouble to the authorities. The town of Mangalore was besieged by the rebels for a long time, and the authorities were greatly annoyed and harassed. The disaffection spread to Coorg, and many people there rose and followed the example of the Canarese. But the Coorg Chief put down this rising. As regards this disaffection, the *Bombay Courier* said, that the spirit of disaffection had been spreading through the Mysore country for many months, originating in a Brahminical conspiracy. Mysore, Coorg and the Southern Mahratta country were spoken of as most disaffected ; and, when it broke out at Canara, no suspicion existed of its having spread into that district. Mysore, indeed, was so watched that no unforeseen rising could take place there, and the principal Coorg chiefs were not persons to be led astray. In order to draw the Coorgs, it was given out that the Rajah had fled from the ill-treatment of the British at Benares, and had sought refuge among the Brahmans. Among other facts it appears that the Brahmans had converted the pagoda of Sorbroomooneah, a place of pilgrimage from Mysore, Canara, Coorg and the Southern Mahratta country, into a regular magazine and store-house, whence ammunition and arms were liberally supplied to all who would use them against our authority.

The insurrection was not put down without great trouble and caused great suffering to many people. At times the situation was considered critical. But the provinces were brought under control in a few months. A Commission was appointed to inquire into the causes and origin of the insurrection ; and certain native chiefs of ' hitherto unsuspected integrity ' were found to be implicated in it.

Among other political troubles of the year there was anxiety about Hyderabad, a fertile source of trouble and anxiety at all periods. Chandoo Lal, the famous minister, was still in power ; but he was very ill, and conspiracies were rife. Two events, happening within a day of each other, disturbed the calm of the authorities. The first was what was called a ' pig feud,'—



a huge dead pig was found thrown into the principal mosque of the Mahomedans, who were excited to madness thereby and threatened to kill every Hindu in the place. The British officer commanding, with great tact, composed the infuriated mob and averted a serious tumult. The next day a Mussulman with a drawn sword rushed into the Residency, dashed through the guards, and succeeded in gaining Captain Malcolm's apartments, crying out, "Malcolm, your time is come." But fortunately Malcolm was away ; and so the guards rushed in and seized the man before he could do any harm. The *Englishman* of the time drew attention to these and other troubles in Hyderabad in a powerful article and advocated British intervention. "The present temper of the Mussulman population shows, we will not say the approach of a crisis, but the probability at any rate of its occurrence, unless timely means of prevention or mitigation of the evil be adopted."

The native army caused considerable anxiety. A spirit of disobedience towards the officers was widespread. At Secunderabad, within three-months, there were three cases of sepoys firing at, and in two of them killing, their native officers. One of the culprits was about to be garlanded with chaplets of flowers by some of his comrades when he had to pass the lines of his regiment, but the presence of the European officers made them think better of it. Insolent placards were also found posted on the barracks at that place by the sepoys. At Kamptee a sepoy fired at his European officer, but missed. But at Chyebassa, in Singbhoom, Ensign Blenkinsop was murdered by a *sowar* who had been ordered to drill for most insubordinate conduct.

As regards the political troubles of the Indian Government at this period, we find a well-informed writer writing as follows in the *Asiatic Journal*, a few months after the end of the year the disasters of which we have tried to recount here: "It may be doubted if at any time since we first occupied territory in India such deep and dangerous disaffection has prevailed as exists at present. Our unsparing taxation, our long-continued and augmenting exhaustion of the resources of the country, our resumption of rent-free lands, our reduction of establishments and of public expenditure, our schemes of conversion under the mask of education, and the pretext of non-interference with religious ceremonials, have spread and are spreading throughout India, universal alarm and discontent. The political horizon is equally overcast: both in the west and in the east the faint flashes of an approaching tempest have already been displayed, and if the storm once burst in either quarter, it will immediately fall upon us with fury from the other. Engaged in hostilities with Persia, backed by Russia ; with Ava, which

has already insulted us ; and with Nepal, preparing, if report be true, most vigorously to recover its lost power and possessions, we shall soon be entangled in a plentiful crop of domestic embarrassments, some by our own blindness, faithlessness and fanaticism. This is not the language of an alarmist ; it is prompted by the contemplation of our proceedings in India, and by authentic information from the natives themselves of the sentiments which they entertain : it is the language also of five out of six of the Company's servants who have recently returned from India—of men who have used the opportunities which they enjoyed of observing the signs of the times : it is the language of all who are capable of connecting causes and consequences, and who know that invidiousness begets suspicion, and that intolerance engenders hate.\*"

One might well use much the same language as this, *mutatis mutandis*, about the outlook at present. The woes that we have recounted form a terrible budget of misery for one year. That year, it must have been seen, was really more calamitous than the present one, which has been by nearly all voted as the most terrible in this century. But, as has been shown, even this terrible year 1897 is a repetition of 1837. There is nothing new under the sun, and history repeats itself with strange persistency. This comparison may afford us grounds for patience and consolation. The terrible cloud passed off at the beginning of the Queen's Reign and left few signs of permanent injury behind, except, perhaps, in the case of the troubles in the Afghan frontier. Nothing came of the dangerous and widespread disaffection in the country, and the Mutiny was twenty years further off. In fact, the country, very soon after this year of woes, revived and began its steady course of prosperity, which has continued, with checks, of course, till the present year. Let us hope that history will repeat itself in this too, and trust that with this year will also pass away the disasters and calamities which it has brought upon us.

"Are there thunders moaning in the distance ?  
Are there spectres moving in the Darkness ?  
Trust the Hand of Light will lead her people,  
Till the thunders pass, the spectres vanish,  
And the Light is Victor, and the Darkness  
Dawns into the Jubilee of the Ages."

There are heavy and widespread natural calamities ; there may be serious political troubles, disaffection of the people and rejoicing of our enemies. But, so long as Britain is true to herself, to her principles and traditions ; so long as she is true to her historical character for justice, fortitude, calmness and mercy, she can afford to defy any dangers and face 'a world in arms.'

R. P. KARKARIA.



## ART. II.—INDIAN BAMBOOS.

(Continued from October 1897.)

Annals of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta, Vol. VII.—  
The *Bambuseæ* of British India. By J. S. Gamble, M. A.,  
F. L. S., Conservator of Forests, School Circle, and Director  
of the Imperial Forest School, Dehra Dûn. Calcutta :  
Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, 1896.

The Bamboo Garden. By A. B. Freeman-Mitford, C. B.  
London : Macmillan & Co., Limited.

### BAMBOOS IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

MR. Freeman-Mitford says that his book has no scientific pretensions. "It is simply an attempt to give a descriptive list—what the French call a catalogue raisonné—of the hardy bamboos in cultivation in this country" (the British Islands), "and to focus such information in regard to them as could be obtained from Japanese as well as from European sources, and was therefore not readily available to the general public."

Some of the matter had already appeared in a series of articles published in 1895 in the *Garden* newspaper; but all the matter has been revised and corrected, while the descriptions of species have been almost entirely rewritten. The task was not found to be an easy one, and Mr. Mitford—the penalty for bearing a double, or hyphenated, surname is that the first part is dropped by other people, for convenience sake—says it would have been impossible but for the encouragement and assistance given him by Sir Joseph Hooker and Mr. Thistleton Dyer, the Director of Kew Gardens. (Has not a hyphen been dropped by Mr. Mitford from between the names of the last-mentioned botanist?) The help cordially given by Messrs. Nicholson, Watson, and Bean, of the Royal Gardens, also is acknowledged; and Mr. Bean's articles on Hardy Bamboos, which appeared in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* in 1894, are said to contain much valuable information. Lord Annesley, Lord de Saumaréz, Sir Edmund Loder, the Right Hon. Mr. A. Smith-Barry, M. P., and Mr. Rashleigh of Menabilly communicated their experience of bamboo cultivation in various parts of the British Isles to Mr. Mitford; and M. Latour-Marliac, Lot-et-Garonne, France, "the greatest European importer of bamboo plants," also is thanked.

Mr. Mitford has not hesitated to draw largely upon such rich store-houses of knowledge as the Messrs. Rivière's beautifully illustrated book, *Les Bambous*, and the late General Munro's

monograph, which are respectively, he says, the French and English classics on the subject; but he says that these books are now not up to date, which justifies him in bringing out another. It is a pity that Mr. Mitford wrote before Mr. Gamble's work on Indian bamboos came out. But he had evidently seen some of the proof sheets of it, for he gives Mr. Gamble the credit of having pointed out a wrong identification of a plant with the Himalayan *Arundinaria Khasiana*: this plant Mr. Mitford therefore described anew as *A. nitida*. And in Chapter VII, "Future possibilities," in which he dons the mantle of a prophet, and says that the great and unexpected success which has attended the acclimatisation of those bamboos which English growers already possess, is but a herald of further triumphs, and then points out that altitudes in tropical climates by no means represent the same temperatures that they do in Europe (latitude, and the corresponding altitude of the sun, also are factors in climate). Mr. Mitford says:—

"When these facts are discounted it is still certain that the Himalayas are full of treasures which we do not yet possess. In India, however, there are a Forestry Department, and Botanical Gardens, under the direction of men of science, and all the machinery for learned exploration, and shortly, it may be hoped, will appear Mr. Gamble's great monograph on Indian Bamboos, published under the auspices of the Government, which will throw a totally new light on the subject. It is safe to prophesy, therefore, that all that is to be found in the Himalayas fitting our climate will before very long be available."

If there be one feature which more than any other, Mr. Mitford says, distinguishes our modern gardens from the trim pleasaunces in which our forbears took their ease, it is the value given to beauty of form in plants, as apart from that of colour. No one will deny the supreme loveliness of the bamboo family in this respect. Bamboos have added to our borders, our shrubberies, and more especially to our wild gardens, a wealth of beauty which a few years ago would have been deemed beyond the craziest dreams of the enthusiast.

"It needed the energy and the enterprise of such collectors as Messrs. Veitch, the brothers Villa of Genoa, and above all M. Latour-Marliac of Temple-sur-lot (a name which will always be associated with the hybridisation of Water Lilies), to establish the fact that, even if we may not hope to see our bamboos grow to the huge dimensions which they attain in their native countries, there are many the hardiness of which is proof against our severest winters. Surrounded as the present writer is by a great number of varieties of these famous grasses, it is impossible for him to doubt their powers of resistance. They have stood through four winters and 26° of frost; they have resisted an even more deadly enemy than frost in the droughts of 1892, 1893, and 1895. In the more congenial summer of 1894 they shot into life with a vigour which gave the best promise of a future when they shall have been thoroughly established. But, alas! the great



Sun-God, who should have ripened the shoots, hid his face throughout the year, and when the grim winter of 1895 set in, the culms had not the enduring power to resist its attacks." . . . . "Many species were badly cut." . . . . "The rhizomes, which must have made rare growth during a wet summer and an autumn which lasted beyond Christmas (witness the roses!), can have no more ripened than the culms, and must have been cruelly pinched when at last the frost came with its iron nippers. As a matter of consequence the first shoots were not so strong as they would have been but for this combination of adversities. The normal yearly increase in the size of the young plants was not observable. But there was no falling out of the ranks; not a single species, hardly a single plant was lost; and now, at the end of a hot but terribly dry summer, the plants have increased in bulk, if not in height, and hope again tells the most flattering of tales. From all quarters—I am writing only of places under the normal climate of England, and not of the favoured regions of the Far West and South—the same report reaches me: a severe check, but no deaths." . . . . "What wonder if the poor home-sick starvelings have found it a hard matter to retain a spark of life in a strange land, where they find neither the glorious sunshine nor the bounteous rains which gave them birth? But the fight is over now, and the victory is won. The death-roll is practically nil, and the survivors are thriving peacefully, accommodating themselves to new and altogether strange conditions of existence, proof, to all appearance, against any treachery which the climate of the Cotswold Hills may bring to bear against them. We need not despair of seeing, in a few years, miniature groves of bamboos clothed in all their marvellous grace, and lacking no native beauty, save only at night the myriad darting lamp of the fire-flies, by whose light, as the pretty fable runs, Confucius and his disciples used to study."

Mr. Mitford has had but a very limited experience in bamboo propagation, and the observations under that head contained in Chapter II. of his book are, therefore, taken almost entirely from Messrs. Rivière's treatise. The hardy species may be propagated either (1) by seed, (2) by division, (3) by cuttings of the base of the culm, with or without the rhizome attached, (4) by cuttings of rhizomes. A fifth process, propagation by layering, is available only in the case of the autumn-growing or tender bamboos: endless experiments made by the Messrs. Rivière in Algiers have proved the futility of the attempts in the case of the hardy species—the reason being that the upper knots, or joints, which alone can be bent down for layering, do not bear the buds from which new culms can spring and roots shoot downwards. Propagation by seed must—owing to the rarity of the occurrence of seeding—always be the method least used. Mr. Mitford has never been able to get ripe seed of any of the hardy species; but yet he gives minute directions for sowing, and how to rear seedlings—perhaps of the non-hardy sorts. For propagation by the other methods he may be taken as a guide. Chapter III. contains hints as to choice of position and soil in which to plant bam-

boos, and the best mode of culture. Shelter from wind and frost are the great points to attend to. A rich, warm spot, especially under the influence of sea air, with partial shade, and a good screen on the north and east, is the true home of the bamboo. Sea mists bring moisture to the leaves, and are Nature's syringe. From the landscape gardener's point of view a good back ground is of the first importance: such is afforded by a bay in a clump of Hollies, or Evergreens. "A group planted on a lawn may be very effective, but bamboos are seen at their best when their gracefully bending culms are shown in contrast against stiffer and darker foliage. If such a position can be found on the banks of running water, with here and there a moss-grown rock cropping out of the hill-side, there you have the ideal composition dear to the Japanese landscape painter." . . . "Let the groups be as big as may be suitable, but do not mix the species. Let each stand out by itself. As Mr. Bean says, 'if this is not attended to, and the spreading rhizomes kept within certain bounds, the different kinds run into each other, and the whole eventually becomes a hopeless jungle.'" Mr. Mitford warns his readers against planting out imported bamboos in their permanent places before they have recovered from the effects of the journey: he has lost many fine specimens by so doing.

Under the head of USES, CUSTOMS, and SUPERSTITIONS, in Chapter IV., Mr. Mitford quotes from, besides some of the authorities cited in an earlier part of this article, Sir Joseph Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*, Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, and Sir Emerson Tennant's *Ceylon*; and he refers to a *Note sur la Culture du Bambou et ses Usages industriels dans la région des Pyrénées et dans le Sud-ouest de la France* (1878), by M. Calvert, sub-inspector of forests, as giving some interesting particulars of the success of a venture started by M. Guillemin in 1861 at Gan in the Basses Pyrénées. In 1878 there were these nine acres under bamboos, at an altitude of about 1,100 feet above the sea, yielding a profit of from 325 to 400 francs per acre annually. The cost of planting was 3,000 francs per acre, and the plants reached maturity in from seven to eight years, when the older shoots were cut with a result of the profit just mentioned. Three particular species are recommended for industrial cultivation, and Mr. Mitford quotes a price-list of pieces of bamboos sold at Gan for various purposes, by the hundred, by the dozen, or by the mètre—if for fishing rods and other purposes for which length is of importance—and of articles made from bamboo, such as drinking-cups, napkin-rings, shoe-horns, tobacco-pipes, penholders, &c. Though a leading London umbrella and stick-maker told him that in his trade the canes of the south of France were eschewed, as in-



sufficiently ripened and consequently liable to split, Mr. Mitford thinks the economic results obtained at Gan might tempt some enterprising horticulturist or farmer in Devonshire or Cornwall to make a similar experiment, a permanent profit of about £16 per acre at the end of eight years being an alluring bait. The south of Glamorganshire, where the vineyard of Bourdeaux vines started by Lord Bute about 1874 has been so successful, might be suggested as another locality for the experiment. Mr. Mitford mentions that the frames of bicycles and tricycles have recently (in America it is believed) been made of bamboo, and quotes from a report in one of the daily newspapers which said :—No one would credit, until after actual trial, the strength and rigidity which the bamboo cycles possess, coupled at the same time with a definite amount of increased comfort. . . . . “The latest honour achieved by a bamboo is (according to a Birmingham paper) that of having furnished to a Church in Shanghai a set of organ pipes which, for softness and mellowness of tone, out-do all others.”

Regarding the etymology of “bamboo” Mr. Mitford says it would seem as if it were fated that some mystery should enshroud everything connected with these plants. Their very name is as great a puzzle to etymologists as their different species are a riddle to botanists. The word bamboo, says Colonel Yule, in his *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words* (J. Murray, 1886):—

“One of the commonest in Anglo-Indian daily use, and thoroughly naturalised in English, is of exceedingly obscure origin. According to Wilson, it is Canarese—Banbu. Marsden inserts it in his dictionary as good Malay. Crawford says it is certainly used on the West coast of Sumatra as a native word, but that it is elsewhere unknown to the Malay language. The usual Malay word is Buluh. He thinks it more likely to have found its way into English from Sumatra than from Canara. But there is evidence enough of its familiarity among the Portuguese before the end of the sixteenth century to indicate the probability that we adopted the word, like so many others, through them. We believe that the correct Canarese word is Banwu. In the sixteenth century the word in the Concan appears to have been Mambu, or at least so it was represented to the Portuguese. Rumphius seems to suggest a quaint onomatopœia: ‘Vehementissimos edunt ictus et sonitus, quum incendio comburuntur, quando notum ejus nomen Bambu, Basubu, facile exauditur’ (Herbarium Amboinense, IV. 17). It is possible that the Canarese word is a vernacular corruption or development of the Sanskrit Vansa. Bamboo does not occur, so far as we can find, in any of the earlier sixteenth century books, which employ Canna, or the like.”

Báns—with the termination pronounced nasally—is the vernacular for bamboo in Northern India. Colonel Yule quotes many passages to prove the use of the word Manbu in India. From a Portuguese ‘Tractado,’ 1578, he takes the following :—

“Some of these (canes), especially in Malabar, are found so large that the people make use of them as boats, not opening them out, but cutting one of the canes right across and using the natural knots to stop the ends, and so

a couple of naked blacks go upon it . . . . each of them at his own end of the Mambu (so they call it) being provided with two paddles, one in each hand . . . . and so upon a cane of this kind the folk pass across and sitting with their legs clinging naked."

Again:—

"And many people on that river (of Cranganor) made use of these canes in place of boats, to be safe from the numerous crocodiles or caymoins (as they call them) which are in the river (which are in fact great and ferocious lizards)."

How clinging by the legs to a bamboo floating in the river could ensure safety from caymoins does not appear, but Mr. Mitford says, Colonel Yule accepts these passages as "explaining, if not justifying," the "big bounce" of Ctesias—the old writer whom, Mr. Gamble says, Ruprecht quoted. "No doubt," says Mr. Mitford, "Ctesias did often draw a very long bow. But then it must be remembered that he never was in India, and that his book was based upon hearsay picked up at the Court of Persia four hundred years B. C., when he was private physician to King Artaxerxes Mnemon." The two earliest quotations cited by Colonel Yule in which the name appears in its present form, are from Fitch, in Hakluyt, ii. 391 (A. D. 1586), and Linschoten (printed at London, by John Wolfe, 1598), in which respectively the spelling is Bambos and Bambus.

Mr. Mitford quotes Munro's classification of the Bambusaceæ (Bambuseæ) in three sections, (1) TRIGLOSSÆ, (2) BAMBUSEÆ VERÆ, and BACCIFERÆ, and his sub-division of TRIGLOSSÆ into three sub-sections, 1. Arundinariæ, 2. Arthrostylideæ, and 3. Chusqueæ, and again Arundinariæ into three groups—Arundinaria, Thamnocalamus, and Phyllostachys, and says that to one or other of these three groups of the sub-section Arundinariæ it is probable that almost, if not quite, all of the hardy Bamboos must be referred, though Munro classes some of them with which he was imperfectly acquainted, not having seen the flowers, as *Bambuseæ veræ*. Where a doubt exists, Mr. Mitford thinks it, perhaps, best to preserve the familiar Bambusa, "without prejudice." It might be thought better still, in such a case, to use the popular word Bamboo, along with any specific Latin name that may have been given to a plant.

For gardening purposes the Bamboos have been separated into two divisions:—1. Those which in their own country come into growth in the summer, and 2, those which show their shoots in the spring.

"With the former division we have nothing to do. They are aliens that cannot support themselves, and there is no home for them in England."

Except in hot houses, e.g., *Dendrocalamus giganteus*, and other tropical species, which, as has been already shown in this article, require only heat, moisture, and head-room enough, to attain very full development.



"The latter, on the contrary," those that show their shoots in the spring, "we may receive with open arms and gladly adopt as most useful, naturalised subjects. It must be obvious that plants which renew their life so late in the year that it needs the full power of a scorching climate to enable them to ripen their wood, must starve under the feeble and uncertain rays of our sun. Those, on the other hand, which in their own home begin to grow in spring, though some of them are later here, can mature their new shoots in time for them to ripen before winter. "Belated laggards are fore-doomed:" the larger *Arundinarias*: especially *A. Simoni*, lose many autumn shoots by not shooting them in time. "Still the great mass of the shoots of the spring-growing species may be relied upon, and, seeing that by degrees, as the plants become established in their new home, they season by season put forth their young growth earlier, the complete acclimatisation even of such lazy colonists as *Phyllostachys mitis* would seem to be only a question of time and patience."

It is to China and Japan, those inexhaustible sources, which for thirty years have been continually pouring new treasures into our gardens and parks, that Mr. Mitford and his fellow "bambusiasts" in Europe owe most of the hardy Bamboos. "So far, India has yielded only five species capable of cultivation in the open air in the British Isles; and indeed one of these, *Thamnocalamus Falconeri*,\* can scarcely be called hardy, though it flourishes in Cornwall and in Ireland. From the United States of North America is drawn one species, *Arundinaria macrosperma*. The Andes (unless, indeed, *Bambusa disticha* should prove to be identical with *Chusquea tessellata*) and Africa have hitherto given us nothing." Almost all the hardy bamboos grow, like Couch Grass, from rhizomes or creeping root-stocks, and some of them, which Mr. Mitford names, have strong running roots invading everything, and therefore demand well-isolated positions. Others seem, under the cramping positions of British soil and climate, to lose for a time their power of spreading, as for instance *Arundinaria japonica*, some plants of which, in Mr. Mitford's garden, only began to throw up shoots at a distance from the parent stems after having been established for seven years. Some idea of the vigour with which Bamboos spread in their native homes may be formed, Mr. Mitford says, from what Professor Sargent says in his *Forest Flora of Japan*, p. 7:—

"In Japan the forest-floor is covered, even high on the mountains, and in the extreme North, with a continuous, almost impenetrable, mass of dwarf bamboos of several species, which makes travelling in the woods, except over long-beaten paths, and up the beds of streams, practically impossible. These Bamboos, which vary in height from 3 to 6 feet in different parts of the country, make the forest-flora monotonous and uninteresting, and prevent the growth of nearly all other under-shrubs, except the most vigorous species. Shrubs, therefore, are mostly driven to the borders of roads and other open spaces, or to the banks of streams and lakes, where they can obtain sufficient light to enable them to rise above the Bamboos; and it is the abundance of the Bamboos, no doubt, which has developed the climbing habit of many Japanese plants, which are obliged to ascend the trees in search of sun and light, for the Japanese forest is filled with climbing shrubs, which flourish with tropical luxuriance."

\* Mr. Gamble describes this as an *Arundinaria*, *A. Falconeri*, Bth. & Hook. fil. Mr. Mitford thinks it probable the two genera will ultimately be merged in one.

The underground growth of a Bamboo may be well understood by examining one of the flexible Wang-hai canes sold by whip and stick-makers. These canes are, indeed, Mr. Mitford says, made of the rhizomes, or creeping root-stocks, of *Phyllostachys* (probably *P. nigra*). In one cane he instances the knots are from 1 inch to 2 inches apart; and all round the knots are the scars left by cutting away the verticellated rootlets, and on each knot, placed alternately, is a larger scar marking the place once occupied by the stem-bud. The stem-bud first appears as a small hard cone safely encased in an armour of protecting sheaths. When vegetation begins the cone softens and swells, and is drawn up telescope-wise until two or three tiny blades, variously coloured, are seen piercing the surface of the soil; and almost simultaneously roots begin to strike downwards, and a new plant asserts its independence. From such a bud Mr. Mitford describes lovingly the growth—at first slow and deliberate, but after a while vigorous and rapid—of the culm or stem, and, after that has, in about six weeks, attained nearly its full height, the growth of its branches; and he shows how the culm-sheaths, each surmounted by its little ligule and blade, and springing from the concealed joints, by adhering closely to the culm, prevent the rain water from running down inside and choking the stomata of the bud. When a culm has grown to nearly its full height, the lower sheaths begin to stand out and the branches to show themselves. This process continues upwards until the topmost branch has been revealed, and the sheaths, having played their part as protectors and being no longer wanted, drop off. After a culm has grown to its full size, succeeding years will add nought to its height or bulk; but the branches will become more dense, and the root-stock will grow until the plant has reached its utmost capabilities, and the stems of each succeeding year will be taller and stouter. This is the habit of *Phyllostachys*: in *Arundinaria* the mode of growth is different. The sheaths do not begin to loosen their hold of the culm, nor the branches to shoot, until the culm has attained quite its full height, and then the ramification is almost simultaneous along its whole length: in fact the development is rather from the top downwards; and the sheaths often do not drop off until the second year. The Messrs. Rivière's book, "*Les Bambous*," mentioned above, contains beautiful drawings showing the rhizomes of various species as they would be revealed were a section made of the soil in which they grow, with the stem-buds, and the culms springing from them.

Mr. Mitford describes a phenomenon in the early life of some hardy bamboos grown in Algiers, as noted by the Messrs.



Rivière, which has been as yet only probably explained. Though the soil has, before the young shoots spring up, been hardened by the long droughts peculiar to the climate, it begins, spontaneously to show signs of moisture :—

“ Gradually the surface heaves and cracks, and with this mysterious assistance the shoots are enabled to push upwards. A careful examination for two or three days after the first appearance, especially in the early morning, shows that during the night the bud has supplied or condensed a quantity of water sufficient to soak the earth by which it is surrounded. The bud itself at early dawn, before sunrise, is abundantly impregnated with moisture. How is this moisture produced? Perhaps it has come from a secretion of the plant, for, on its young and hardly-developed organs, there appear tiny drops which from time to time are detached and fall upon the soil. At first it was supposed that this moisture, which was observed every morning, might be caused by the condensation of night dews or mists upon the young shoots; but where these had been covered and protected against all external influences, the same phenomena were observed. Various and repeated experiments failed to give any explanation of the cause of this moisture,” (until) “ In the month of August 1874 Messrs. Rivière observed what they describe as showers of rain falling from the leaves of certain bamboos at eventide. They were enabled to gather enough of this water to take its temperature. Whether the former (?) wonder occurs here even in a modified degree, I am unable to say, for our plants are so heavily mulched that it would be scarcely possible to observe it; but I certainly have noticed dew, drops standing on the leaves and stems of my bamboos, when the surrounding vegetation, both above, below, and at the same height, was quite dry.”

Mr. Mitford has observed that all those bamboos, without a single exception, which have been proved to be thoroughly hardy in the British Isles have the veins of their leaves tessellated, that is to say, in chequers, crossing one another like the threads of a spider's web, or the meshes of a net; while all those proved to be tender, or only half-hardy, have the veins of their leaves striated, that is to say, running in parallel lines from base to point. But there are many bamboos with tessellated venation which cannot be grown in this country. Only one thing is certain, he says, namely, that no bamboo introduced up to the present has proved hardy that has not such tessellation.

Mr. Mitford's description of the veins of a thoroughly hardy bamboo, as crossing one another like the meshes of a net, is hardly borne out by the illustration he gives, drawn by one of the microscopists of the Kew laboratory; for, from this and the note accompanying it, it appears that, in the first place, the main veins are similar in both classes of leaves (they are striated in both), and it is only the intermediate veinlets, or “ finer venation,” which differ in the two; and, in the second place, in the tessellated class not even the veinlets cross one another: the “ finer venation ” consists in both classes of longitudinal parallel veinlets, unconnected in the tender or non-hardy species, but in the hardy species connected by cross veinlets between each pair of longitudinals, placed at irregular intervals and alternately, so that no one cross vein-

let connects three or more longitudinals. And Mr. Mitford's division of his bamboos into hardy and tender seems hardly correct, in some cases at least; for, in giving instances of differing venation he says:—"Of the Himalayan species up to the present in cultivation, *Thamnocalamus* (*Arundinaria*) *Falconeri* and *Arundinaria falcata* die down in winter, the latter, indeed, does so in its own country; their leaf-veins are striated." Does Mr. Mitford mean to say that *Arundinaria falcata* is not hardy even in its native habitat, because the culms die down in winter, *i.e.*, are only annual? It is presumed that this species sends up fresh culms every year in his garden, and that, though deciduous as regards its herbaceous stems, it is nevertheless hardy. Mr. Mitford finds an analogous distinction between the leaf-veins of *Chamærops excelsa*, the one Palm which he says is hardy in England, and has tessellated leaf-veins, and the tender Palms: he has examined many of the latter and found that all have striated leaf-veins. "What can be," he says, "this mysterious connection between tessellation and hardness?" Mr. Thistleton Dyer, the Director of Kew Gardens to whom I communicated this observation, writes to me: "There must be something important behind a character like this, and, no doubt, when we discover it, it will be a key to other things." The tessellated leaves must be much stronger than those only striated, and it may be suggested that in the necessity for greater strength will probably be found the clue to the mystery.

Coming to the description of the species cultivated in temperate Europe, Mr. Mitford remarks on the uncertain state of the nomenclature, but says that, in the absence of flowers and fruit of some species, this confusion is not to be wondered at. "Plants are named and sent out by nursery gardeners according to their own sweet fancy, and sometimes, though this may be an ill-natured suspicion, according to the state of their stock. On writing to various nursery gardeners for five different bamboos, in each case he received *Arundinaria Simoni*: and he gives other instances of ignorance or unscrupulousness. And—

"Even at Kew *Phyllostachys bambusoides* was for years represented by a magnificent plant of *P. viridi-glaucescens*. Indeed *Phyllostachys bambusoides* presented itself to me in so many shapes that I began to look upon it as the Mrs. Harris of Bamboos, and became as sceptical as to its existence as Betsy Prig. At last, in 1894, the true plant was received at Kew from Hong-Kong, and by the kindness of the director I have been furnished with a specimen of it."

Even since the early part of 1894, when, as mentioned above, his articles appeared in the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, Mr. Bean has modified the views he then took as to the identity of certain species. The Kew plants have now been (by him?)



compared with those of other collections, and with the dried specimens in the herbarium; and the result of these investigations has been a revision of the nomenclature of the hardy Bamboos, which, endorsed as it is, by the high authority of Kew, may, Mr. Mitford hopes, be considered final so far as the species in cultivation at the time he wrote are concerned. Several of the species have, for the reasons given in each case, been renamed by Mr. Mitford. In Chapter VI, which occupies 126 pages of the 218 contained in the text of the book, detailed descriptions are given—though not in the concise and systematic form which would be adopted in a strictly botanical work—of 44 species in outdoor cultivation, of which 35 are natives of China and Japan, 5 of the Himalaya, only 1 of North America—the only United States species—and three are of uncertain origin. *Arundinaria Hookeriana*, described by Munro, a handsome, tall, tufted bamboo, which Mr. Gamble says ought to be cultivated, and should thrive in places in Europe which are sheltered from frost, and which is growing in the Kew Arboretum, is not treated of by Mr. Mitford, but receives merely incidental mention as being one of a group of four species (the others being *A. falcata*, *A. Khasidna*, and *A. intermedia*—all of which, seeing the great altitudes at which they are found in the Himalaya, ought to be tried in England) in which the flower-bearing and leaf-bearing culms are distinct. These flower and seed every year, and, dying down under the snows of winter, throw up new shoots from the stools in the succeeding spring. If *A. Hookeriana* be added to the list, the number of hardy species will be 45.

Though this part of the book is chiefly of interest to the botanist and the cultivator, there is much matter in it which will be found very interesting by any reader who is fond of Nature, and who likes to read the observations made by expert naturalists. Mr. Mitford—has closely watched the growth and development of plants of the species he cultivates, and studied their likings and habits; and his study has resulted in the determination of the true characters of the two types of sheath and blade that occur in the bamboos, and not, so far as Sir Joseph Hooker knows, in any other tribe of grasses—see an earlier passage in this article.

“The Bamboo Garden” is adorned with some very artistic and beautiful drawings, which show the characteristics of the branching foliage of some of the more remarkable species, and Mr. Mitford says of them:—

“One attraction at any rate I may claim for my book, in the admirable drawings so kindly furnished by Mr. Alfred Parsons, whose life-long devotion to the portraiture of plant life found a new scope in the flora and landscape of Japan, of which his transcripts by pen and pencil have charmed the reading and the artist world of England and America.”

The drawing which shows the tessellated and striated characters of the venation of the leaves of bamboos, referred to above, is the only illustration of a botanical nature; but, as Mr. Mitford modestly begins by saying, the book has no scientific pretensions.

In Chapter VII, "FUTURE POSSIBILITIES," Mr. Mitford says:—

"There is nothing finite in science—nothing finite in the arts and crafts which are her handmaids. Certainly nothing in gardening; for year by year, almost day by day, new treasures are discovered, or old ones reveal new secrets; more especially in the matter of hardihood do we meet with surprises. For how many lustres was the *Aucuba* cribbed, cabined, and confined as a tender plant in green houses, until some kindly but audacious hand set it free? And now it is to be found in every London square, smut-begrimed and filthy, but glorifying and rejoicing in its filth. And so it has been with many plants once marked with a capital G in every catalogue, but now thriving gaily in a climate to which they have accustomed themselves without difficulty. Not five years ago one of the most famous of our gardeners, looking at my newly-imported starveling bamboos, said with the sneering grunt of the unbeliever: "They'll all die." The laugh is on my side now, for the rickety babies have grown into stalwart young giants, full of lusty life, with the joy of many days ahead of them. And the best of it is, that the great and unexpected success which has attended the acclimatisation of those bamboos which we already possess is but a herald of further triumphs. For as yet we have only touched the fringe of what we hope to achieve in the decoration of our wilderness gardens with the grace of these Royal Grasses.

"When we consider that in Asia and South America alike there are bamboos, known hitherto only from the dried specimens in herbaria, growing at incredible altitudes—that among the Andes, for instance, there is one species, *Chusquea aristata*, which has been found at an elevation equal to the height of Mount Blanc,—we must believe, nay, we know that there is many a Sleeping-Beauty only waiting till some lover shall carry her off from her mountain fastness, to awake under the faint but kindly rays of an English sun."

After referring to the possibilities to result from the continued exploration of the Himalaya, and other ranges of mountains in India southward to Ceylon, by the Forest and Botanical Departments, in a passage already quoted in this article, Mr. Mitford says:—

"The exploration of the Andes is a less hopeful matter. They are rich in species with tessellated leaves, growing at heights of from 4,000 to 15,000 feet above the sea level, and assuredly they should be laid under contribution. The great difficulty will be, that, in the absence of great botanical establishments, such as those of India, the burthen must more or less fall upon private shoulders.

"Africa is, so far as at present known, a less promising field for the collection of hardy bamboos; but it must be borne in mind that the chief authority to which to look is still General Munro's monograph which appeared in 1866, when the dark continent was still a mysterious fable-land." . . . "A short time ago I believed that we had already exhausted the resources of China and Japan. But since then we know that one species, certainly, *Aurundinaria nitida*, and probably two others, *A. anceps*, and *A. nobilis*, must be referred to that source. Both the Chinese and Japanese are excellent gardeners and cultivators, trained by heredity in the art of improving and adopting wild plants to the needs of their civilisation. From time immemorial they have been engaged in ransacking their native forests and mountains for the enrichment of their pleasure grounds, and it seemed to me very unlikely that such sharp



eyes should have passed by any species of conspicuous merit in a genus (?) which in their view is the type of all that is most graceful and most poetical in garden form. Moreover, they are essentially a practical people, to whom the commercial and utilitarian value of the bamboo calls aloud with the chink of dollars. Our European collectors have for many years had free access to their gardens, and have thus had before them living catalogues of all the daintiest and loveliest species, with the result shown by the enumeration which I have given in the preceding pages. For these reasons I was inclined to think that from these gardens we had not much more to hope for. This has already proved to be wrong. The flora of China especially is one of the richest in the world; our botanists are only now beginning to examine it by the light of Western Science, and it is dangerous, therefore, to hazard any very definite opinion in regard to its capabilities. One of our greatest botanists writes to me:—"The Flora of North-Western China is essentially Himalayan, with a profusion of distinct rhododendrons; why not, then, of hardy Bamboos?"

Mr. Mitford seems to have hopes of finding even more new species among those actually in cultivation in Great Britain, in addition to the three which appear last in his list. He says that a perfect craze for hardy bamboos has sprung up, which gives hope that none will in future escape notice. The infection is spreading, and it cannot fail to give a great impetus to collecting; and he has drawn up a list of those species not hitherto introduced which appear to be the most likely to succeed in this country, and to which the hunters of orchids and other rare plants might, in passing, profitably turn their attention. This list is, professedly, a very sanguine one; "but a trial, at any rate, will do no harm, even though some species should be sentenced to death, others to imprisonment in the temperate house; while every plant flourishing in freedom will be a fresh joy added to our gardens,—in every sense a survival of the fittest."

The list is compiled from Munro, with additions of names furnished by Sir Joseph Hooker—Mr. Gamble's new Indian species, apparently; but it certainly seems too hopefully long—46 species altogether. Of these 24 are from Asia, including 6 from Ceylon and Java, which islands are almost equatorial in latitude; and one, *Bambusa Griffithiana*, Munro, has been only once found, in the extreme North of Burma, and is given in the list solely because of its tessellated leaves; and it is branded as probably not hardy because it was found associated with numerous tropical plants. *Bambusa nutans*, Wallich, is in the list, though it is not stated to have tessellated leaves. Mr. Gamble says it is a moderate-sized, graceful bamboo, a native of the Lower Himalaya from the Jumna to Assam and Eastern Bengal, doubtfully wild west of Nepal, but very common in villages and along roads and canals in the Dehra Dún. In Sikkim it grows up to 5,000 feet only. It is extremely difficult of separation from *B. Tulda*, which is probably the most commonly cultivated species in the plains of Lower Bengal and Assam; and as it

grows from 20 to 40 feet high, it seems to the present writer—who has known the species as growing in the Dehra Dún at altitudes of from 2,000 to 3,000 feet—very improbable that, even if it survived importation, it could, in a temperate clime, throw up representative culms. Mr. Mitford gives its native habitats as Nepál, Silhet, Khasia, Assam and Sikkim, at 5 to 7,000 feet above the sea; but even these are comparatively low levels, and the district of Silhet is down in the Gangetic plain. Only 16 or 17 of the Asiatic species recommended for experimenting with in the British Isles are said to have tessellated leaves: nothing about that qualification is said as to the others. One species belonging to South Africa is in the list, and two from the Mascaren Islands; and 19 are given as South American, 14 of which are tessellated. One of these, by the way, is said to grow in Mexico as well as in South America.

Mr. Mitford, in giving this list as a “future possibility,” expects forgiveness for once more dwelling upon tessellation of the veins of the leaf as some evidence of hardihood, as he calls it—would not hardiness be a better word, there being just a suspicion that the hardihood belongs to him and not to the bamboos?—But for this evidence he claims “no more value than is afforded by the simple fact that no bamboo without this character has proved thoroughly hardy in this country. There are, no doubt, tropical bamboos with tessellated venation which we could not grow, and therefore the test is an incomplete one. But, when we find it combined with a natural habitat of great altitude, subject to the influences of frost and snow, in plants surrounded by a non-tropical and alpine vegetation, we have such good warranty for the hardihood of the species that we may with faith attempt to acclimatise it here.” It is not clear what we are to attempt to acclimatise—whether the tessellated venation, the test, or the species; but the combination of tessellated venation with great altitude and alpine surroundings surely does not exist in the case of many of the plants given in the list of possibilities.

Mr. Mitford's last chapter, entitled “*Apologia pro Bambusis meis*,” is a long one, beginning with a defence of his hobby against some folk who object to the planting of bamboos in English pleasure grounds on the ground that such manifestly exotic plants give a foreign and unhome-like appearance to them; that they are out of place, fantastic, and what not besides; but there he leaves his bamboos and goes off into a rhapsody in praise of Nature, with recollections of early travels in Asia Minor, of the Troad and Mount Ida, and visions of the Garden of Eden, where he says there were no flower-beds (were there any bamboos?), but where Adam and Eve, “before sin and carpet bedding had been invented wandered hand in



hand, happy and contented" (even without bamboos) "with the mere sense of life and beauty and love, surrounded by the bountiful profusion of Nature, and soothed by the rushing music of sweet waters." It would seem that the statement in the Book of Genesis, that Adam was put into the Garden of Eden to work—"to dress it and to keep it"—is incorrect, and that, after the creation of Eve at least, he was a mere idler. Then follows a recollection of a spot far away on an island of the Malay Archipelago,—“a lovely vision of a crystal clear pool, fed by the glistening jewels of an overhanging cascade, sheltered from the heat of noon by a network of Palms and Bamboos, and strange vegetation draped with giant climbers.” . . . . “The air is heavy with the scent of spices; orchids and mysteriously shaped flowers peep out as surprises amid the giant foliage.” . . . . “Here again is the gardening of the gods—no formal beds, no torturing and trimming of *Altenantheras*, no setting out of geometrical patterns with house-leeks. And yet what beauty of form! what incomparable harmony of colours!—a memory the light of which the changes and chances of thirty years have not been able to extinguish.” The whole chapter is well worth reading, as a vindication of the attempt to reproduce the beauty of Nature in our gardens, and a condemnation of “the so-called architectural school of gardening;” but, as it is not bamboos, a few more extracts only will here be given.

“He who would lay out for himself a paradise—I use the word in old Parkinson’s sense—cannot do better, having the needful leisure, than set out to drink in wisdom in Japan.\* Not in the Japanese gardens, for, as we shall see presently, nowhere is the gardeners’ work more out of tune than in that country of paradoxes; but on the mountain side, in the dim recesses of the forest, by the banks of many a torrent, there the great silent teacher has mapped out for our instruction plans and devices which are the living reputation of the heresies of stone masonry. There are spots among the Hakoné Mountains, not to mention many other places, of which the study of a lifetime could hardly exhaust the lessons. One reason which makes Japan such a rich field for observation is that, perhaps, in no other country will you find so many types of vegetation within so small an area. The sombre gloom of the *Cryptomerias*, the stiff and stately Firs, Pine trees twisted and gnarled into every conceivable shapes, flowering trees and shrubs in countless varieties, combined with the feathering grace of the Bamboo, and all arranged as if the function of each plant were, not only itself to look its very best, but also to enhance and set off the beauty of its neighbours—present a series of pictures difficult to realise. Fancy a great glen all besnowed with the tender bloom of Cherries and Peaches and *Magnolias* in spring, or blazing with the flames of Maples to warm the chill October, and in its depths a great water-fall leaping from rock to rock for some hundreds of feet! Here and there the soft brown thatch of some peasant’s cottage, or the quaint caves of a Buddhist temple, jut out from the hill-side, while far down below you see the emerald green patches of paddyfield, with great white cranes stalking about in solemn state. In such a glen you may sit hour after hour, feasting your eyes in wonder, and learning how to get the fullest value out of your treasures at

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\* Mr. Mitford was once second Secretary to the British Legation in Japan, and is the author of *Tales of Old Japan*.

home. Few if any of the plants which you are admiring are too tender to be grown in England, and the fair landscape before you furnishes the key to their successful adaptation.

"The Japanese are true lovers of scenery; no people have a keener feeling for a beautiful landscape; to them a moon-rising over Mount Fuji is a poem, and their pilgrimages to see the almonds in blossom, or the glories of the Autumn tints, are almost proverbial—and yet, strange to say, in their gardens they seem to take a delight in setting at defiance every one of those canons which Nature has laid down so unmistakably for those who will be at the pains to read them. The Japanese garden is a mere toy that might be the appanage of a doll's house. Everything is in miniature."

Dwarf forests, imitation mountains; everything spick and span, intensely artificial; the average Japanese garden is a mere whimsical toy, "the relic of an art imported from China, and stereotyped on the willow-pattern plate." May not the secret of what seems to Mr. Mitford merely unaccountably bad taste be—that, having the beautiful scenery and vegetation he describes everywhere not far off, and also knowing that he cannot successfully imitate it, the Jap prefers the contrasts which his ingenuity produces so well? It seems a case of '*quot homines, tot sententiæ*,' and Mr. Mitford might be more tolerant. There is room enough on the earth for both him and the Japanese nation. He had better not provoke them, or they may start a crusade against the English style of landscape gardening. They are an aggressive nation. Japanese botanists even are coming to the front, and quite lately have given a lesson to their European teachers. At a meeting of the Linnean Society, in London, on June 17th, 1897, Dr. D. H. Scott, F. R. S., exhibited original preparations by Professor Ikeno and Dr. Hirase, of Tokio, Japan, illustrating a great discovery regarding the process of reproduction in two very different looking plants, Gymnospermous Phanerogams, namely, *Ginkgo biloba* (formerly *Salisburia adiantifolia*—the so-called Maiden-hair tree) and *Cycas revoluta*. The nature of the discovery is too technical for transcription in the *Calcutta Review*; but it may be said to amount to this that fertilisation takes place in these two plants in the same manner as in Ferns. The English botanists, in conclave assembled, had to admit that the facts shown on the slides exhibited admitted of no other interpretation than that given by their Japanese fellow-workers.

Mr. Mitford looks upon gardening as one of the fine arts, and, rightly understood, not one of the least difficult. The painter or sculptor produces his effects at once, but the gardener has to consider not what his work is now, but what it will grow into ten, twenty, fifty years hence. If he has a background ready-made to his hand, he is lucky, but if he has to make it he has to do so with trees which are mostly far slower of growth than the more immediately effective plants which it is their office to set off. He has to balance questions of soil,



light, moisture. All this involves not only the poetic sense, but also great and patiently acquired knowledge. And, "if the background be unfitting all the work is thrown away. Colour, form, light and shade, all have to be studied in the composition of one of these living pictures which the gardener paints with living materials."

Mr. Mitford concludes his apology, and his book, with the following passage :—

"So far as our present knowledge goes, with the single exception of Fortune's *Chamærops*, the hardy bamboos are the only plants which help us to give, in certain appropriate places, some faint idea of the mysterious vegetation of warm climates. Outlanders it must be confessed that they are, with the impress of their foreign origin stamped on every feature, differing in that from many an impostor, too often undetected, that raises its bragging head with as much effrontery as if it could trace an English pedigree back beyond the Crusades. The impostor is admitted without a word ; but give place to the more honest and charming outlander, and you are a Goth, a destroyer of the English landscape when, turning an alley, you bring the purist to some secluded spot framing a picture which he cannot understand, and in his superiority will not admire, but which to you brings back something like a subtle fragrance of the dim far-away."

An appendix to the book consists of a note on Japanese Nomenclature of Bamboos, which will be of great use to travelers and residents in Japan, as well as to collectors and the nursery gardeners who are now importing bamboos in large quantities. The Japanese names, which are given in Roman characters, number nearly thirty, besides synonyms, and opposite these are given the corresponding botanical names, also with synonyms. In time Mr. Mitford says, when more consignments have been received from Japan, it will be easy to identify all the Japanese names with their European (scientific?) equivalents. The difficulty at present is that the Japanese labels are lost, or destroyed as valueless by European nurserymen, who, of course, are unable to decipher them ; so they send the plants out under improvised and often inappropriate names, unless they have the aid of a skilled botanist.

C. W. HOPE.

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### ART. III.—INDIA BEFORE THE ENGLISH.

IT is, perhaps, no more than natural that the prevailing unrest in India should have imparted a new stimulus to the perennial controversy regarding the comparative happiness of the people of the country under native rule in the past and under British rule at the present day. Yet it is more than questionable whether the controversy is not one which, from the very nature of the case, is foredoomed to futility.

"Amidst a Babel of contending opinions as to the success or non-success of British administration in India, when a large number of disputants maintain that progress in that country has been phenomenal, while others declare that England is ruining India, body and soul, it will be well for a few moments to turn from the war of words and clash of conflicting arguments to the solid standpoint of historic truth; and to attempt to gather from unimpeachable ancient records how the matter stands, for I am convinced that in the minds of the majority there is much misty ignorance regarding the true condition of India before the advent of the British, so that opinions are often formed upon bases quite unsound. The case stands broadly thus: Many Hindús are convinced that their country was better governed by their own rulers than it is now, and some people in this country think the same thing. Well, if that be the case, Her Majesty's Government ought to learn the truth. It would lead to better government in the future, and if it is not the case, the Hindús ought to learn the truth. It would lead to their greater contentment in the future; and contentment means happiness. So that, for the benefit of both sides, investigation can, I think, only lead to good results. But at the outset the enquiry must be conducted on purely historical lines, since it is on those lines alone that we can proceed with safety. *We want the actual facts; nothing else is of any value.*" Such are the opening sentences of a highly interesting paper which was read recently before the East India Association in London by Mr. Robert Sewell, of the Madras Civil Service, and which, though it bears the title, "India before the English," is really occupied with the question to which we refer.

Now, it is precisely because nothing "but the actual facts" is of any value that, as it seems to us, labour spent in endeavouring to arrive at an answer to this question, is labour spent in the pursuit of an *ignis fatuus*. For not only is the evidence furnished by the ancient records cited by Mr. Sewell in his paper hopelessly inadequate for its determination, but the facts to which alone it relates are not the essential facts. As far



as the question at issue is concerned, they are valuable only as indications of what, on a series of assumptions most of which are, to say the least, highly fallible, we might, with more or less reason, expect the essential facts to be. While, in other words, the question of the happiness of the people is one of feelings, and not of objective facts, it is with objective facts alone that these records are occupied : and the same may be said of nearly all the evidence that is available regarding the condition of society in India in ancient times.

It is true that, on the physical side, the relation between objective facts of a certain order and the feelings of those affected by them is approximately the same for the great majority of ordinarily constituted human beings. But it is not mainly, or even largely, from facts of this order that the daily lives of the mass of mankind take their colour ; and with such highly complex sets of facts as make up the customary conditions of the lives of peoples and individuals the case is altogether different. It may be possible for a man to form an approximately accurate conception of what would be the effect on his feelings if he were suddenly subjected to some such set of facts, differing widely, but in a definite way, from those to which he was accustomed, or from any of which he had experience ; though even here the risk of error would be much greater than most persons would be apt to think. It would be more difficult for him to form a conception of the way in which his feelings would be affected by the same set of facts if they constituted the condition of life in which he had been born and bred ; and it would be still more difficult for him to form a conception of the way in which the feelings of his distant ancestors would have been affected by them. Yet, before we can be in a position to answer the question discussed in Mr. Sewell's paper, we must not only have a far more complete knowledge than we actually possess of the highly complicated sets of facts which constituted the conditions of life in India centuries and tens of centuries ago, but we must also be able to form a distinct conception of the way in which those conditions, differing widely though they must necessarily have done from any of which we have any experience, affected the feelings of races differing no less widely from ourselves in habits of life and modes of thought and feeling.

How often, on comparing two periods in our own lives that contrast sharply in respect of conditions of great moment—conditions which, to the majority of mankind, might seem sufficient to make all the difference between happiness and misery—and that differ materially in no other respect which would be likely to strike the attention of the superficial observer, do we not find it extremely difficult, or even impossible, to determine

which was, on the whole, the happier period. How often, again, on making such a comparison, do we not find the scale turned—and turned in a direction opposite to that to which a superficial observer would expect it to incline—by some subtle difference which even the most intimate of companions could not hope to detect ; which, it may be, eludes even our own mental grasp. And, if it is thus difficult for us to compare the effect, on our own feelings, of two sets of conditions both of which we have actually experienced, how much more difficult must it not be for us to compare the effects, on the feelings of an alien people, of two widely different sets of conditions with neither of which we are familiar ?

The difficulty of the task, moreover, is enormously increased by the fact that there are a number of fallacies which, in instituting such a comparison, it is hardly possible for human nature to escape. One of these is the tendency to judge of the effect of the conditions compared on the feelings of those subjected to them by the criterion of what we imagine would be their effect on ourselves. We may endeavour honestly enough to put ourselves in the place of those whose feelings are in question, and, after making due allowance for what we conceive to be the differences between our mental, moral and physical constitutions and theirs, to imagine how we should be affected. But it is certain that, where these persons differ from ourselves as widely as does the average native of India, even at the present day, to say nothing of him of the remote part, the conceptions attainable by such a process, however carefully and with however much insight it may be performed, must differ very widely from the reality, and that the resulting judgment is extremely likely to be altogether erroneous.

Seeing that in many respects we have, beyond doubt, materially modified the conditions of life in India, especially in the larger towns, in the direction of our own ideal of what is conducive to well-being, it is not to be wondered at that, so far as our judgment is influenced by the bias to which we are referring, we should conclude that the people of the country must be far happier now than they were even in the palmiest days of Hindú rule. Yet the chances, it may be suspected, are greatly against our judgment on the point being correct.

A forcible illustration of our liability to error from the cause under consideration is furnished by the case of sanitary reform. To the cultured Englishman, it seems scarcely conceivable that the people of India should not greatly prefer their towns regularly swept and garnished, and protected from cholera by a filtered water-supply, from small-pox by vaccination, and from general foulness, with the limitless possibilities of disease implied in it, by carefully devised sani-



tary regulations. But the cultured Englishman forgets, or realises but dimly, that the point of view from which he regards the matter differs from that from which nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand natives of India regard it in several respects of the utmost importance.

To begin with, the cultured Englishman is thoroughly convinced that sanitation is actually in a high degree conducive to health. Consequently, if the state, in this respect, of the town that is swept, garnished, and the rest should be better afterwards than it was before, he unhesitatingly attributes the change to the process. If, on the contrary, its state should happen to be worse, he is convinced that the change is due to some independent cause which has more than neutralised the results of sanitation, and, in default of sanitation, would have produced even more disastrous results. The average native of India, on the other hand, is profoundly sceptical, or absolutely incredulous, of the benefits of sanitation after Western methods, and in many cases probably believes it to be positively harmful. If the health of the town to which it is applied should be better afterwards than it was before, he attributes the result to the will of Providence, or to anything but sanitation; while, if it is worse than before, he is likely enough to attribute the change either directly to sanitation, or to the divine wrath provoked by it. But even if the people of India were as fully convinced as the cultured Englishman is of the efficacy of sanitation, and if, further, they attached as much importance to health and to the death-rate, the fact still remains that the cost of sanitation weighs upon them so much more heavily than upon him, that there is no guarantee that they would concur in his opinion of its desirability.

When we speak of the cost of sanitation, we refer, it will be understood, not to the mere pecuniary cost; though that presses upon the mass of the people of India with a severity which Englishmen can hardly realise, but of the harassment, the oppression, the opportunities of extortion, the restraints upon liberty, the interference with immemorial custom, and the violation of domestic privacy, which it entails, disamenities which all affect the average Native of India to a vastly greater extent than the average Englishman. We have little doubt, in fact, that, even if the effects of sanitation in the shape of improved public health were twice as marked as they are, and if the people of the country were thoroughly convinced of the fact, the great majority of them would unhesitatingly prefer to be relieved of the taxes, the rules, and the inspection and its incidents, which it involves, and to take their chance in peace.

Another source of error is the general tendency to exaggerate the effect of differences in the ordinary physical conditions

of life and to ignore the accommodation which habit brings about. We say the ordinary physical conditions of life, for we are not referring to such exceptional conditions as cause acute physical pain, or such extreme discomfort as no amount of habit can be expected sensibly to mitigate, but to the conditions that make up the daily routine of life of the mass of every community—their customary fare, raiment, housing, and the like. To the wealthy Englishman, accustomed to a dinner of many courses of rich and delicate viands cunningly prepared, and washed down, it may be, with costly wines, it would, no doubt, be a scarcely tolerable hardship to be suddenly put upon a regimen of boiled rice and pulse, with a pinch of salt ; and he is naturally apt to think that something at least of this hardship must be felt by the Indian peasant, whose fare is of the latter kind from one month's end to another. But this is a complete delusion ; and, though there is, doubtless, a considerable difference in the total amount of satisfaction derived by the wealthy Englishman on the one hand, and the Indian peasant on the other, from their respective diets, it is quite insignificant compared with what either of them would be apt to imagine, and still more insignificant as a factor in the happiness of either of them. Yet the difference between the conditions concerned in these two cases is far greater than any difference that can reasonably be supposed to exist between the daily fare of the average Indian peasant of to-day and that of his forerunner under, say, the Cholas.

Apart, however, from the consideration with which we have just been dealing—that the facts on which Mr. Sewell relies are not the essential facts, and that any attempt to infer the essential facts from them is, from the nature of the case, beset by difficulties that are practically insuperable—, these facts are so scanty and so isolated that it is impossible, in the absence of other evidence, which is not forthcoming, to arrive at any definite conclusion as to their true bearing on the question, even of the physical conditions of the life of the people in Hindu times.

Mr. Sewell's paper is occupied, for the most part, with an endeavour to establish two points. One of these is that there was never, as he alleges, Hindus generally, as well as many Englishmen, imagine, a "golden age" when all India was governed by a single native-born Emperor ; and the other is that taxation, and especially the land-tax, was much heavier, and its incidence much more oppressive, in Hindu times, than it is under British rule.

Regarding the former point, he tells us the Hindu "dreams of there having been once a time when all India from the Hindú Kush to Ceylon lay under the imperial sway of magnificent monarchs of supreme power and dignity, the like



of whom the world has never seen, under whose benignant and enlightened government flourished all the Arts and all the Sciences in unparalleled splendour. He dreams that under this government the people were more free and less heavily taxed, that the taxes were less burdensome, less irritating, as there was little or no oppression of the people by corrupt officials. As to the sciences, I once heard one of these dreamers, a young Brahman who spoke excellent English, declare in a lecture that the knowledge of medicine arose in Ancient India, as well as the knowledge of every other science ; and that such was the power of diagnosis possessed by the ancient Hindu doctors—that, whereas one of our poor ignorant latter-day surgeons is compelled to examine the person of a patient to ascertain the cause of his illness, in old India the leech could at once come to a right conclusion merely by touching the end of a stick pushed through a hole in a curtain by a person hidden behind it. There was similar excellence, he averred, in all branches of study."

In proof of the widespread character of the belief thus described, he quotes a paper by a Hindu writer, and a "territorial Maharajah," in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, who says : "In the halcyon days of Hindu sovereignty, this land of Bharata enjoyed the blessings of a peaceful reign, the Court of Ayodhya, on the one hand, and the Court of Hastinapura, on the other hand, having acted as centres of political supremacy, bending the vassal sovereigns by the common tie of patriotism towards their mother land, and loyalty towards their sovereign recognised as such, by divine right. From the glimpses of political history we can gather on the authority of our ancient epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—we learn that every political act of great moment was, before its execution, proposed by the sovereign head and carried by the unanimous voice of the vassals. . . The war of the Mahabharata was another momentous act of politics that was brought about by the united voice of the subject sovereigns and vassals who were scattered about the length and breadth of this vast and glorious Empire consisting of 56 Aryan" (*sic*) "principalities. Still, later, when we come to Somnath, we find the Hindú sovereigns assembled under a common banner, in the cause of their religion and country to oppose Mohamed (*sic*) of Ghazni." From which supposed facts, Mr. Sewell adds, he argues, that there must have been one grand Imperial Constitution over all the land, with the chiefs forming the responsible Council of the sovereign.

Now, all this, Mr. Sewell says, appears to him to be untrue ; and he goes on to give reasons for concluding that the early Hindu period, before the coming of Alexander, was a period of constant wars of dynasties and races throughout the length

and breadth of the country ; that, when Alexander seized the Punjab, he found no lord paramount, even over Upper India, but many separate kings ; that, after that, a larger portion of Upper India lay under foreign dominion for six centuries ; that even Asoka was by no means a universal Chakravarti, as is shown by his own edicts, in which he mentions the names of contemporary Sovereigns ; that this state of things was certainly not changed by the subsequent Scythian invasions ; and that neither the Andhras, nor the Guptas, nor any other of the dynasties of the period acquired or claimed universal sovereignty.

As to Vikramaditya, again, and the legends of which he is the centre, he says : " No such name exists in all the history of India, except as that of certain kings of a local dynasty, the Western Chalukyas in the country about Bombay, and the Western Dekkan between the years A. D. 670 and 1126 ; and I have personally very little doubt that it is really round the first of that name that all the romantic web of stories and legends and fancies has been weaved. Though possessing quite a limited area of territory he was in his way a considerable monarch. His father, Satyāśraya, or Pulikesi II., had acquired much land by conquest of neighbouring kings and nations, and Vikramaditya consolidated his power by defeating a confederacy of three chiefs of the Pallavas, afterwards seizing their capital, Kanchi, or Conjeveram, south of Madras. His grants and inscriptions are full of poetic boasting of his grand achievements. Sankāchāryār, the great reformer of the Saiva faith appears to have lived in his reign. The king was a patron of Literature and the Arts ; he invited Brahmans to visit him from various parts of India and loaded them with rich presents. Their return has been to immortalise him in song and story. Legends are told of his miraculous birth and marvellous actions. He has become a sort of Indian Haroun-al-Raschid, so that the 19th century Hindú claims for him universal supremacy over all India, and antedates him more than seven hundred years, in order that it may appear that he was the founder of the Vikrama era." And he goes on to argue, with Professor Kielhorn, that the Vikrama era was not associated with the name of Vikramaditya till many centuries after his time ; that it was previously styled the Vikrama era simply, and that, in all probability, it originally meant merely the " current era."

Though this is, perhaps, not very conclusive, there is very little room for doubting the correctness of Mr. Sewell's view of the main fact, that there was never a period before the advent of British rule when India was not divided into many independent States. But, assuming this to be the truth, it is not very clear why he should lay so much stress on it. As far as actual



facts are concerned, we know of only one ground on which it can be reasonably contended that the mass of the people of India would be likely to be happier under a single sovereign than under a number of independent sovereigns ; and that is that the risk of war would be much smaller in the former case, since it could occur only as the result of invasion from without, or of rebellion. But without a far more accurate knowledge than we at present possess of the way in which war was commonly carried on in early Hindu times, it is impossible to form any opinion as to the extent to which its stress was felt by the mass of the people, or as to the light in which it was regarded by those actually engaged in it, or immediately concerned in its failure or success.

It may, no doubt, be argued with justice that, if there is a widespread conviction among the people of India that their ancestors were happier under Hindú rule in the remote past than they themselves are under British rule, and if, again, this conviction is merely, or largely, a corollary of the belief that, at the time to which it refers, the country was under the rule of a single sovereign, then it might, from a political point of view, be a matter of considerable importance to convince the people that the latter belief is baseless. But, even granting the belief in the greater happiness of the people under Hindu rule to be widespread, is there any good ground for thinking that it rests upon any such foundation as that in question ? It is extremely doubtful, to begin with, whether the Hindus at all generally believe that, as a matter of fact, Vikramaditya, or any other of the mighty Hindu sovereigns of tradition really ruled over the whole of what we understand by India. But it is still more doubtful whether those who do entertain this belief attribute the happiness enjoyed by the subjects of such sovereigns to the fact that they had no rivals and no compeers. The tendency among them, as far as our experience goes, is to find an explanation of it in the beneficence of disposition of these rulers ; in their wisdom and justice, and in the vigour and vigilance of their internal administration. It may be quite true that, as Mr. Sewell says, Vikramaditya is a sort of Hindu Haroun-al-Raschid ; but who ever imagined that the amenities of life in Baghdad, real or imaginary, under that Khalifa, had anything to do with the extent of his dominions, which, by the way, was not very great ?

The evidence brought forward by Mr. Sewell to show that taxation was heavier under Hindu rule is less irrelevant ; but it is hopelessly inconclusive, even as regards the material well-being of the people.

As to the land-tax, we learn, from an inscription in the Tanjore temple, that under the kings of the Chola dynasty, it

was paid in kind, being assessed in the lump upon the whole village, which was carefully measured. Comparing this system with that which obtains under British rule, Mr. Sewell remarks : " The several farmers were absolutely at the mercy of the village elders as to their individual shares. When disputes arose it would seem very easy, with such an elaborate system of measurement, to confuse the minds of the village Councillors, however anxious they may have been to decide aright, or to entirely befog the intellect of the aggrieved cultivator. Weights and measures varied in every village, and even if the amount of *marakkāls* of grain payable were at last definitely settled, the intriguing village official could take refuge in the difference between the *adavallan marakkāl* and the local measure of the same name. Now, for all this what have we substituted ? We deal, as I have said, direct with each cultivator, the village accountant being merely the record-keeper. Each ryot has his paper showing precisely how much he has individually to pay the State in cash as land revenue. And in place of this supremely confusing system of measurement we have one which would describe the village in question thus : Total so many acres, assessment so many rupees ; deduct waste and communal land so many acres, assessment so much ; taxable remainder so many acres, so much assessment. Finally our acre is a fixed measure, and the village officers are furnished with necessary chains, so that no mistake is possible." And he asks which system conduces most to the welfare and contentment of the Indian farmer ?

Then a long statement by a Hindu Dewan of one of the Native States of our own day is quoted to show the oppression and annoyance incidental to the system of payment in kind.

As to the comparative amount of the land revenue under British and under Hindu rule, respectively, Mr. Sewell brings forward evidence to show that, alike under the Cholas, under the Hindu dynasties in the Northern Circars, and under the Vijayanagar Hindu kings, it was at least half the gross produce, and he argues that these instances are probably typical of what was the practice in other parts of India, whereas under British rule the State takes a sum representing from one-fourth to one-sixth only.

As to other forms of taxation, Mr. Sewell cites a translation by Dr. Hultzsch of a royal grant of a Chola sovereign of the 11th century A. D., in which occurs the following list of taxes : " Tax for the village watchman ; tax for the village accountant ; tax for unripe fruit in month of Karttigar ; tax on looms ; tax on oil-mills ; tax on trade ; tax on goldsmiths ; tax on animals ; tax on tanks ; tax on water courses ; tolls ; tax on weights ; fines for selling rotten drugs " (not a



tax); "tax on shops; tax on salt; tax on elephant stalls; tax on horse-stables," besides four taxes the names of which are untranslatable, while another list of the same place and period mentions, in addition to the above, one *nâli* of rice for every platter; one *nâli* of rice on each day sacred to the worship of ancestors; a tax on weddings; a tax on washermen's stones; a tax on potters; rent for use of water and collection of leaves; brokerage, and a tax on neatherds, and yet another list mentions a police tax; a tax on Jains; a tax for the support of the Prime Minister, and fees in the nature of stamp duty on documents.

Evidence is further given, referring to different periods, from the time of Megasthenes to the close of the last century, to show that this state of things was not exceptional; and there is no reason to suppose that it was. It may probably be fairly assumed that all over India, under the Hindus, the system of taxation was very much what it was in Southern India under the Cholas. Admitting this, however, the facts will not support the conclusion Mr. Sewell draws from them, or, indeed, any definite conclusion, as to the happiness of the people, or even as to their material prosperity, in Hindu, as compared with British, times.

A writer in the *Calcutta Statesman*, reviewing the paper, has very justly pointed out that the weak point in Mr. Sewell's case is that "what we want to know, before we can estimate, however imperfectly, the bearing of the facts on the question of the happiness of the people, is not how much was taken from the subject in the shape of taxation, but how much was left to him to eat, drink, and clothe himself withal," but that "not only does Mr. Sewell give us absolutely no direct evidence on this point, but, even admitting his view of the comparative weight of taxation to be correct, the inference he draws, that the agriculturist was correspondingly worse off, or worse off at all, even economically, under Hindu than he is under British rule, is very far from being inevitable."

And, as regards the latter argument, he goes on to remark, with reference to the land-tax in particular, that it is quite possible that "the one-half of the produce which was all—assuming it to have been all—that was left him under Hindu rule, was actually more than the three-fourths, or five-sixths of the produce which the British Government leaves, or imagines that it leaves, him. What is more, not only is it quite possible, but it is highly probable, that the proportion of the one-half of the produce of which the agriculturist succeeded in retaining the benefit under Hindú rule, was a good deal larger than that of the three-fourths, or five-sixths, of the produce of which he succeeds in retaining the benefit under British rule. There are

strong reasons, indeed, for thinking that, in the case of some three-fourths of the agriculturists, at the lowest computation, the money-lender, who is practically the product of British rule, absorbs all the difference, or even more than the difference, between the quota of the produce which the cultivator had to surrender to the State under Native rule, and that which he has to surrender to the British Government. It is pretty clear, indeed, that Mr. Sewell attempts to prove too much. Whatever the agriculturist paid to the State under Hindú rule, and whatever he does not pay to it under British rule, it is notorious that under British rule he succeeds, in three cases out of four, in retaining for the benefit of himself and his family no more, and often less, than suffices to maintain him and them in moderate physical health."

But there are other considerations which make it quite impossible for us to estimate the comparative effect of the land-tax under Hindu and under British rule on the economic condition of the people. Not only is it possible that, owing to the greater fertility of the soil, the one-half of the produce left to the cultivator by the Hindu ruler was actually more than the larger proportion which the British Government leaves him; but it is highly probable that, owing to the super-abundance of uncultivated land even in the more flourishing parts of the country, the average holding of the cultivator was considerably larger than it is at present. There would appear, indeed, to have been no reason, in those days, when a large proportion of the country was forest, why, if he found his share of the produce of his holding insufficient to maintain himself and his family in comfort, and if, as must necessarily have been the case, it left him anything at all beyond the mere wages of labour, the cultivator should not have brought more land under the plough. It is difficult, in fact, to believe that, under the conditions we are describing, rack-renting can have been at all generally possible; while, even if it was possible, it must in most cases have been so obviously detrimental to the best interests of the State as to make it highly improbable.

As to the form in which the land-revenue was levied in Hindu times, it is undeniable that the system of payment in kind holds out more opportunity for extortion on the part of the officials employed in estimating and measuring the crops, and to abuse in a variety of ways, than that of payment in cash, though it also holds out more opportunity of evasion on the part of the cultivator. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that it is in a large measure the system of payment in cash under British rule that has reduced the cultivator to his present state of dependence on the money-lender. It may also be added—though this can hardly be said to



affect the question at issue—that the state of trade and of the currency in Hindu times probably made the adoption of the system of cash payments impracticable. It is further to be remembered that, under the system of payment in kind, the amount to be paid adjusts itself automatically to the cultivator's means of paying it. If the season is a good one, the amount, but not the weight of the land-revenue, is proportionately increased, while, in the opposite case, it is proportionately diminished, without the necessity of his applying for a remission.

As to the plan of assessing each village in a lump sum and leaving it to the village elders to apportion the shares of the individual cultivators, no doubt it placed in the hands of the village elders a power which they would not always exercise impartially. One result of the system probably was that the rates paid by the cultivators for land of a particular quantity varied in the inverse ratio of their caste rank, or respectability, a distinction which survives to our own day in many parts of the country—Behar, for example—where the Zemindari system prevails. This, however, unjust and invidious as it may appear to us, is not regarded as a hardship by the people of the country even now, and was much less liked to be so regarded under Hindu rule. Mr. Sewell's remarks about the liability of the aggrieved cultivator in case of dispute, to be befogged by the complicated system of measurement that prevailed, and by the differences in the weights and measures current in different villages, or between the official and the village standard, it seems to imply an unduly mean estimate of the average intelligence of the Indian cultivator. Our experience of him is that, at the present day, at all events, he is almost preternaturally sharp in all matters of the kind, and we see no reason for thinking that he was less so a thousand, or, for the matter of that, two thousand years ago.

But even if the tendency of the system was, on the whole, to favour the aggrandisement of the strong at the expense of the weak, it had its compensations even for the latter, not the least of them being that it saved them from direct contact with the officers of the State.

As regards miscellaneous taxes under Hindu rule, it can hardly be doubted, in the face of the evidence brought forward by Mr. Sewell, that their multitude was very great, and though, as the writer already quoted points out, some allowance must be made for the fact that a large number—indeed the greater portion—of them are really one tax, *viz.*, a tax on trades and professions, “which, in the lists given, is multiplied as many times as there are separate trades and professions to be taxed,” it seems practically certain that the total amount of taxation other than land-revenue, or rather the proportion it bore to the incomes taxed, was much greater under Hindu than it is

under British rule. But, as was remarked in the case of the land-revenue, there is not an iota of evidence as to what the incomes, whether of the cultivators or other classes, of those days were ; and, in the absence of such evidence, it is manifestly impossible to arrive at any conclusion either as to the comparative weight of taxation, or as to the comparative well-being of the mass of the people, after discharging all their liabilities to the State, in the two periods.

Our object so far has been to show that discussion of the question of the comparative happiness of the people of India under Hindu and under British rule, respectively, must almost necessarily be futile for any practical purpose, owing to the inadequacy of the data available for its investigation. But there are other reasons why, equally from the nature of the case, such discussion is altogether unlikely to be productive of the beneficial consequences which Mr. Sewell anticipates from it. Whether the common native belief that the country was better governed under the Hindus be true, or not, it is equally important, he argues, that the truth should be known. For in the one case the result would be that we should govern the country better in the future ; while in the other case it would be that the natives would be more contented in the future. But, as Mr. H. Beveridge, in an interesting letter on Mr. Sewell's paper published in the *Asiatic Quarterly*, has pointed out, it is improbable that anything we could do would convince the Natives that their belief on the subject is wrong : and this is improbable not merely because, as he remarks, the belief rests on an impalpable sentiment on which arguments and facts have no effect, but because, in any case, what we should have to prove in order to convince them, would be that the country was worse governed under its ancient rulers, not according to our ideal, but according to theirs ; and so different are these ideals that, in not a few cases, the facts to which Englishmen would confidently appeal to prove their case would be appealed to no less confidently by the average native to prove his. The whole argument, in fact, assumes an agreement, in all essential particulars at least, between Natives and Englishmen as to what good government is ; and no such agreement exists.

Englishmen, it may be added, are no more likely to be convinced that India was better governed, than Natives are likely to be convinced that it was worse governed, under Hindu than it is under British rule. More than this, even if Englishmen were convinced that the people were happier under Hindu than they are under British rule, it is equally unlikely that their policy would be materially modified by the fact. Who that knows them can doubt that they would still continue to govern the country in accordance with their own convictions as to what *ought* to conduce to the happiness of the people ?



#### ART. IV.—A BENGALI ROBIN HOOD.

**T**IMES of misrule and anarchy have in all ages and countries favoured the growth and rise of gang-robbery. On such occasions, some bold adventurer, taking advantage of the disordered state of the country-side, has, it has almost always been found, set himself up as a robber-chief, and, gathering to his standard the roving blades, swashbucklers and landless loons of the country, started forward on his career of rapine and robbery. Such a state of things arose in many of the districts of Bengal after the subversion, by the East India Company's government under Lord Clive, of the Mahomedan dynasty of Murshidabad, as the result of the crowning victory of Plassy.

As a consequence of the establishment of British rule in Bengal, the fauzdari establishments and the summary laws of the Mahomedan government for the suppression of crime were abolished, and, in their stead, the Government of the East India Company established police-stations, presided over by *darogas*, at different places throughout the province for the keeping of the peace. But the insufficiently manned and still more inefficient police of those days were unable to repress the lawlessness which was rife all over the province in this its transition state; and the district of Bengal became, in consequence, one vast hotbed of dacoity and other serious crime. Bands of robbers and *dakaites* sprang into existence by the score; and the result was that insecurity reigned rampant over the land to such an extent that men were obliged to bury all their valuables and surplus cash under the ground. The well-to-do classes of the people used to retain in their service professional club-men, called *paiks*, to keep watch and ward over their houses and defend them from violence in case of attack. Even Calcutta, which had then recently been made the capital of the province, was not free from the depredations of these marauders. Towards the close of the last century, dacoity was of every-day occurrence in and about this city. The Rev. J. Long writes: "In 1780, in a Calcutta paper it is stated, a few nights ago four armed men entered the house of a Moorman near Chowringhee and carried off his daughter." Even down to the beginning of the present century, so great was the fear of robbery and murder in Calcutta, especially in the native quarter of the city, that no native would venture out, after dusk, with very good clothes on him. If this was the state of affairs in the metropolis, it can very well be imagined how much more insecure were men's lives

and property in the mofussil. In those troublous days the district of Nadiya in Bengal became the head-quarters of a band of dacoits under the leadership of a robber-chief, by name Biswanath Babu, who set up, like the injured Earl of Huntingdon in Peacock's Maid Marian, in the combined character of patriotic outlaw and generous reiver, and carried on his depredations on the wealthy and the commercial public generally. It is my intention to give in these pages short sketch of his life and thrilling adventures by field and a flood.

Biswanath was born in Gádrábháthhálá, an obscure village eight miles to the east of Chápda Tháná, in the district of Nadiya. He belonged to the *Tetule Bagdi* caste and was an agriculturist by birth, his forefathers having earned their livelihood by tillage only. In early life, his attention was attracted towards Vaishnavism, the dominant cult of Nadiya. He accordingly joined a secret fraternity of Vaishnava men and women who had devoted themselves to the cultivation of the mystic tenets of their sect; most of whom belonged to his own and the neighbouring villages, and with whom he used to meet secretly. At these clandestine meetings, Biswanath was brought into contact with a female member of the fraternity, who was the daughter of Panchkawri Sirdar, a well-known clubman of those days, and contracted a liking for her company which, course of time, ripened into intimacy. One day, discovering Biswanath and his daughter in a compromising situation, Panchkawri seized the former and, confining him in a room, left the house, to consult with his sister's son, Megháí Sirdar, who was employed as a *paik* in a neighbouring indigo factory, about the punishment to be meted out to the lover.

In her father's absence, Panchkawrie's daughter set her lover free. Having thus escaped from the clutches of his enemies, Biswanath became very careful. One day a rumour spread in the village that Panchkawrie's daughter had been bitten by a snake in the house of her cousin Megháí and had died of the bite. On hearing of this occurrence, Biswanath at once concluded that the story of her death from snakebite was an invention, and that there must have been foul play at that bottom of it. Regarding himself as the cause of his unfortunate mistress's untimely death, he vowed to be avenged on her father and cousin for the cold-blooded murder. This unhappy incident proved, indeed, to be a turning-point in Biswanath's life. All his cherished hopes were blasted, and all his resolves were changed by the sad end of his mistress.

In those olden times, when the good old rule, the simple plan,

"That they should take who have the power  
And they should keep who can,"



was the order of the day, gang-robbery was recognised as a profession, and a man's influence was gauged by the number of clubmen he kept in his service. Even influential zemindars of those days used to retain in their employment bands of lawless swash-bucklers and filibusters, not only for the purpose of defending their lives and properties from professional robbers, but also as an agency for wreaking their vengeance on other foes as well. Thus it came to pass that Biswanath also set up as a robber-chief and maintained under him a gang of dacoits to aid him in the pursuit of his profession. Of his associates the chief were Naldubo, Krishna Sirdar and Sanyási. Some say that Naldubo, as his name implied, could remain under water for a long time. Another variant of this tradition runs to the effect that he used to dive under the waters of the big tank at Dignagar and remain there with a blackened earthen pot on his head. Whenever any woman with ornaments on her person came to have her dip in the tank, he used to seize her, like a crocodile, from underneath the waters and kill her by dragging her to the bottom. It is said that on one occasion an up-country wrestler went to the tank, assuming the guise of a woman, and, when attacked by Naldubo, caught hold of him and thrusting him into an iron cage, had him suspended from the branches of a big silk-cotton tree on its bank. Others say that Naldubo was one of Biswanath's *kālir paiks*, or principal sword-players, and that he was very expert in the use of the *sātnalā*, which was thus a formidable engine of destruction in his hands. According to them Pitambar and Baidyanath were Biswanath's principal adherents during the earlier stages of his career. It is said that both of them had separate gangs of men under them, and that they used to combine with that of Biswanath when a robbery on an extensive scale was contemplated.

Having entered on his career as a robber-chief, Biswanath began to look out for an opportunity to wreak vengeance on Panchkawri Sirdar. He long bided his time in vain; for the latter, supported as he was by his influential European employers at the factory, defied him and his accomplices. At last an opportunity arrived of which Biswanath promptly availed himself. On one occasion Panchkawri Sirdar went to Krishnagar with some money remitted by his employers, leaving Meghai alone to mount guard at the factory. Finding Meghai alone, Biswanath took him by surprise one day and had him conveyed to Asannagar. Tradition says that Biswanath executed Meghai Sirdar in broad daylight, by way of sacrifice to the goddess Káli, amidst the tom-tomming of a hundred kettle-drums, and Pitambar is said to have acted as executioner on the occasion. Hearing the tom-tomming on his way back from Krish-

nagar, Panchkawri Sirdar suspected that something untoward must have happened in his absence. His suspicions were confirmed when he found Meghai's decapitated head dangling from the branch of a banyan tree. Seeing this gruesome relic of his nephew, he solemnly vowed to exterminate Biswanath and his accomplices ; and, when the authorities of the Nadiya district resolved on bringing them to justice, it was Panchkawri Sirdar who afforded them the greatest assistance in tracking their whereabouts.

It has been shown above that Biswanath, *alias* Bishe Dákáit, began his career at a time when the greatest anarchy and lawlessness prevailed in Bengal. The rich fattened themselves on the plunder of the poor, and the poor were ground exceeding small under the tyranny of the wealthy. The consequence was that the poorer classes, goaded as they were past all human endurance, banded themselves together to rob the wealthier people among the community of their ill-gotten gains and to avenge on them the wrongs they had so long meekly borne at their hands. Thus the whole province came to be infested by numerous gangs of dacoits, who not only exercised their vocation by broad daylight, but committed the greatest atrocities on their victims. But, with Bishe Dákáit's appearance in the field, not only was the proverbial inhumanity of the robbers checked, but the wealthier classes also found in him a formidable antagonist to cope with. Biswanath was not only a generous outlaw, but also a patriotic reiver. He showed the greatest kindness towards poor women, children, and other helpless persons. At the same time, like his famous prototype, Robin Hood of England, he made it the ruling principle of his life to take from the rich and give to the poor. By his fearlessness and his active sympathy with the poor and the oppressed, he succeeded in investing even the hated profession of a highwayman with an intense charm and living interest even in the eyes of the peaceful classes of the community. His genuine pluck, his magnanimity and his sympathy with the poor and the helpless earned for him such a name and fame throughout the length and breadth of the land as seldom fall to the lot even of the virtuous. His doughty deeds of valour and his many acts of high-minded generosity have made his name a household word in Bengal, and are still enshrined in many a song and ballad.

It is said that "there is honour even among thieves," and Biswanath was not wanting in this respect. He would not attack an unwary or unprepared householder all of a sudden. On the contrary, before he committed dakaiti in a person's house, he used to send an anonymous letter to the goodman



thereof, saying that he would be his guest on a certain night. If the householder was wise enough to give him a hearty reception and comply with his demand, he would go away quietly with the blackmail he had levied, without touching even a single hair of his head. But woe betide the man who refused to satisfy his demand. On one occasion, it is said, Biswanath assumed the garb of a respectably-dressed gentleman and went to the house of a Bráhmaṇ of Tribeni, who, though well-known for his learning, was yet notorious for his miserly habits, and asked him what persons were entitled to the hoarded gold of a miser. Not knowing who the questioner was, the Bráhmaṇ was foolish enough to cite, by way of reply to his query, a verse from the Shastras to the effect that even a thief was entitled to share in a miser's wealth. Taking him at his word and throwing off his disguise, Biswanath told him point blank that, if this was so, he was, as a matter of right, entitled to a share in his hoarded treasures. Completely taken by surprise, the miserly Bráhmaṇ was obliged to send Biswanath away with a sop of five thousand rupees.

After the manner of all robbers, Biswanath was a faithful votary of the goddess Káli. Before starting on a plundering expedition, he and his associates would worship the goddess, who is the tutelary deity of all thieves, robbers and persons of that ilk, and sacrifice a goat to her. As *dákáits* are very superstitious, they would then look out for omens betokening the success or otherwise of their expedition. If the omens were favourable, they at once started on their journey. If otherwise, they put off their intended attack. In the same way, on returning from a successful foray, they would again worship the goddess and offer her sacrifices.

On the night of the proposed attack, Biswanath and his accomplices used to paint their faces with soot, white paint and vermillion, in order not only to disguise themselves, but also to give themselves a ferocious aspect. Then they started for the scene of their intended attack, with lighted torches and in military array. On arriving at their destination they used to yell out at the top of their voices. These blood-curdling shouts were known as the "*dákáter-kulkuli*," or "the dacoits' announcement of arrival." His mode of attack was based on what might be called a scientific principle. Before delivering the actual attack, he used, first of all, to establish *ghátis*, or posts, all round the house, over which the *kálir páiks*, or the most skilful swordsmen of the gang, were told off to mount guard. Then the other dacoits were told off to the discharge of their respective duties. After this the *kálir páiks* indulged in sword-play, which they called *dhálí pák khelá*, yelling loudly all the time. Thereafter they attacked the house.

If the captain of the banditti saw any danger of being captured, or if any one of the gang got wounded or killed, he used to bawl out "*hunshidr, máchhi poreche*," ("take care, a fly has got caught"), which, in the robbers' slang, means "beware, there is danger ahead." If he saw actual danger, he used to shout out, "*guráo*," or "*haul up the net*," which, in the secret jargon of the dacoits, means "stop plundering and run away." On this note of alarm being given by the robber-chief, all the members of the gang stopped plundering and cleared out from the scene of action as fast as their heels could carry them.

Like all dacoits of those days, Biswanath was very skilful in the use of stilts, which were called *ranpás* in robbers' slang. These *ranpás* had bracket-like appendages attached at top and bottom, on which the rider placed his feet, holding the tops of both the stilts to balance himself with. If it was necessary to travel very fast, the feet used to be placed on the topmost brackets, or footholds. If an easy-going pace was required, the dacoits made use of the nethermost footholds. Thus mounted, it is said, Biswanath could outstrip the fastest horsemen and cover very long distances in an incredibly short space of time. It is said that *ranpás* are in use even at the present day in those parts of the country which are inhabited by the criminal tribes. I have heard on reliable authority that the Ahirs of the Gopalgunge Sub-division of this district (Saran), who are notorious *budmashes*, with the aid of these stilt-like *lathis*, go on dark nights to villages on the other side of the river Gunduck in the adjoining district of Champaran, commit dacoity there and return home in the course of the same night—thereby avoiding exciting the slightest suspicion of their absence from home in the minds of those who are accountable to the Government for their good conduct.

Of his many marvellous exploits, his plunder of the *gadi* (banking office), at Kalna, of the Nandis of Baidyapur is a memorable one. Biswanath used to celebrate the Durgá Pujá festival with great *éclat* every year. On this occasion he would distribute, with a lavish hand, rice and clothes to the poor and the needy, and wind up the festival with a grand gathering on the Bijayá Dasami day, or the last day of the Pujá, when, in accordance with a time-honored custom obtaining among the marauding fraternity, all the gangs of dacoits under him met together, to exchange friendly greetings and hold high carnival. This annual ceremony entailed a heavy draught upon his purse. In order to enable him to meet the outlay, Biswanath used to be specially active in the pursuit of his profession just before the commencement of the Pujás. On one occasion, his plundering forays



not having been so successful as in other years, his funds fell short and he was in great need of the wherewithal to defray the expenses of the Pujá. About that time he received information that the Nandi Babus of Baidyapur had remitted Rs. 10,000 in cash to their banking office at Kalna, and he immediately resolved avail himself of this golden opportunity to recoup his straitened finances. Taking a boat, he at once started for Kalna, accompanied by only four of his associates, armed with swords and pistols. On his arrival there, he at once had the *daroga* of the Kalna Thana arrested by his accomplice, Megháí, and brought to the boat. There he made him sign an *ikrarnama* purporting to be a confession that he was in collusion with the dacoits who had robbed the *gadi*. Thereafter Biswanath and his accomplices landed and made straight for the Nandi Babu's banking shop, and, helping themselves to the treasure, carried it off. With this money, Biswanath celebrated the Durgá Pujá that year with great *éclat* in the jungles of Bráhmañitolá, near Nákásipará.

The news of this daring act of robbery spread far and wide through the land and struck terror into the hearts of the millionaires of the district. Many of the latter, therefore, now secretly began to concert measures for bringing about Biswanath's downfall, and did all that lay in their power to assist the authorities in tracking him. The Company's Government at the same time strengthened the police force of the district and adopted special measures to bring the band to justice. Somewhat dismayed at this activity on the part of the authorities, he remained in hiding for a time in his old haunts in the jungles of Swarupgunge.

The event, however, which immediately led to Biswanath's downfall was a daring robbery which he committed in the factory of Mr. Samuel Fady, an influential indigo-planter of the district of Nadiya. A large remittance of money, which was intended for making advances to the raiyats who cultivated indigo for Mr. Fady's concern, had been received in the factory from Calcutta. When Biswanath got information of the arrival of the treasure, he immediately determined to plunder it. This resolve on his part was, indeed, a very daring one, considering that the factory-premises were situated very close to the bungalow of Mr. Elliot, the then Magistrate of Nadiya. It was on the night of the *Diwáli* festival that, with his gang, Biswanath made his attack upon the factory. Having killed the Telugu sepoy who had arrived from Calcutta with the treasure in his charge and who was, on the night of the robbery, mounting sentry over the treasury of the factory, the dakaits looted the money. Hearing the noise made by the robbers, Mrs. Fady, for fear of her life, it is said, put

a blackened earthen pot on her head and hid herself immersed to the chin in the waters of a tank in the compound of the factory premises. With his usual foresight, Biswanath had seen that, during the attack, Mrs. Fady might be roughly handled, or otherwise molested, by his associates, if the latter were left to themselves; and when the looting was going on, and some of the robbers were pinioning Mr. Fady, he displayed the innate chivalry of his nature and issued strict injunctions to his followers neither to intrude upon Mrs. Fady's private chamber nor to molest her in any way.

Leaving Meghai in charge of Mr. Fady, Biswanath, accompanied by the other members of his gang, left the factory with the looted treasure, and went straight to his rendezvous in the jungles near Bagdevi Canal. Subsequently Meghai arrived there, with Mr. Fady bound hand and foot and lying on a stretcher. On his arrival, the whole gang of dakaits demanded that Mr. Fady should be killed. But Biswanath espoused the Saheb's cause and urged that his life should be spared; for, said he, if they imbrued their hands in his blood, the murder would create a great sensation throughout the province and still further stir up the hostility of the authorities against them. He, therefore, proposed to his followers that the Saheb should be led blind-folded out of the rendezvous and set free on the highway leading to his factory. Thereupon a hot discussion followed as to this expediency, or otherwise, of killing Mr. Fady. While this discussion was going on, Meghai unsheathed his sword and aimed a blow at the Saheb. As the sword was about to fall on his head, Biswanath rushed to the spot, parried the blow with a *lathi* which was lying close by, and cut the bands with which he was pinioned. But, before he was allowed to depart, Mr. Fady was made to take a solemn oath neither to betray the dacoits nor to move the authorities against them. Mr. Fady having taken the required oath, Meghai insisted that the Saheb should be first of all blind-folded and then allowed to leave the rendezvous. But Biswanath overrode his associate's objection and allowed Mr. Fady to go without the required covering on his eyes. Mr. Fady, however, not considering the promise extorted from him binding on his conscience, at once went to the house of the Magistrate, Mr. Elliot, and informed him of the night's occurrence.

As Biswanath and his gang had proved more than a match for the existing police forces of the district, the Magistrate sent a report to the Government of their inability to cope with the marauders and applied for further reinforcements in the shape of a company of sepoy from the militia. The Company's Government complied with Mr. Elliot's request, and deputed



Mr. C. Blacquiere, then one of the Magistrates of Calcutta, to Nadiya, as a Joint Magistrate for the suppression of dacoity in that district. Mr. Blacquiere brought with him a party of European blue-jackets to assist him in the capture of the dacoits. The Magistrate also enlisted the services of a body of able-bodied *Upargostis*. These *Upargostis*, being the descendants of ancient Pathan jagirdars of the country, lived in a village named Harinadi, four miles to the west of Santipur, and were well-known in that neighbourhood for their physical strength and prowess. Being natives of Santipur, they were familiar with the ins and outs of Biswanath's homes and haunts, and regularly watched and reported to the authorities the movements of the dacoit-chief and his gang.

One day, one of the *Upargostis* brought information that Biswanath with his gang intended to commit a robbery in a village close to Krishnagar. The next evening Mr. Blacquiere went to the village in question, with a posse of sepoy and *Upargostis*, and lay in ambush there. In the dead of the night, Biswanath and his men appeared and attacked the house of a villager. The *kalir paiks* were indulging in sword-play before the house, and the rest of the dacoits had just entered and begun looting it, when Mr. Blacquiere, with his sepoy, arrived on the scene and closely invested the house with a cordon of his men. He then ordered the rest of the sepoy to capture the leaders of the gang alive. They pleaded their inability to do so, and asked for permission to shoot them down. Thereupon Mr. Blacquiere ordered the European sailors to capture the dacoits, and, arming themselves with *lathis*, the sailors disarmed them of their swords. Many of the dacoits were then captured by the sepoy; but Biswanath, with his principal followers, escaped.

This smart capture of dacoits had the effect of restoring peace to the district for a time. But as long as Biswanath and his principal companions remained at large, dacoity could not be completely put down. So the services of the *Upargostis* were retained; and they were ordered to continue their search for the absconding dacoits. At last, their exertions were crowned with success. One day, one of the *Upargostis* discovered that the dacoit chief, with his followers, had taken refuge in the jungle near the village of Kulia, and he at once communicated this information to Messrs. Elliot, Blacquiere and Fady, who marched with a posse of sepoy and sailors to the jungle and closely surrounded it.

They found Biswanath and his companions cooking their meals under the shade of a tree. As Biswanath was quite unarmed at the time, his companion Meghai offered him a sword and called upon him to play the man and defend him-

self. But he refused this proffer of arms, and, telling his companions to defend themselves as best as they could, boldly stepped forward and taunted Mr. Fady with the breach of the promise he had so solemnly made not to betray them, and further said that he had all along committed robbery not for his own behoof, but for the purpose of doing good to others. He was, he boldly said, prepared for any punishment they might choose to inflict on him. Saying this, he surrendered himself to the Magistrate, Mr. Elliot.

Tradition says that Meghai committed suicide in order to elude capture and capital punishment. Sir W. W. Hunter, who has given a very brief account of Biswanath's life and adventures in the "*Statistical Account of Bengal*," says that "the European gentlemen rushed in and arrested Biswanath and his companions." Thereafter Biswanath and a dozen of his accomplices were tried and sentenced to pay the extreme penalty of the law. They were hanged on a scaffold on the river-side, says Sir W. W. Hunter, and their corpses were then placed in an iron cage and suspended from a banyan tree, said to be still existing, as a warning to all wrong-doers. After Biswanath's death, his mother is said to have applied to the authorities for her deceased son's skeleton; but her prayer was refused. She said that, should she get back his bones, she would restore him to life again. How deep was the regret felt by the middle-class people of those times for the sad end of Biswanath, may be judged from scraps of folk-songs which may be still heard from the lips of people even at the present day, and which breathe sentiments of the deepest sorrow for his loss.

As has already been said, the essential features of Biswanath's character were his sympathy for the poor and the oppressed, his magnanimity, and, above all, his chivalrous respect for woman-kind. On one occasion, the story goes, Biswanath attacked the house of the Chakravartis of Dignagar with a view to committing dacoity therein. In the course of the attack, he found his follower, Baidyanath, attacking one of the ladies of the family and inflicting sword-wounds on her. By the light of the blazing torches, he recognised in the lady the playmate of his childhood, with whom he had passed many an hour of his infancy in idle play and prattle. Rushing forward, he thrust Baidyanath aside and rated him roundly for his cruelty. Then, ordering the looting to be stopped at once, he approached the lady, and, doing obeisance to her, craved her pardon for what had been done in his absence and without his orders. Saying this, he left the house without taking any of the property that had been looted.

His was the Robin Hood principle of taking from the rich



and giving to the poor. Whatever Biswanath earned by the pursuit of his profession, he lavished on the poor and the needy. It is said that he defrayed the entire marriage-expenses of many a portionless girl. He had many a poor Brahman boy invested with the sacred thread—at his own expense. He often assisted poor Brahmans with money to enable them to meet the expenses of the Durga Puja; and during that festival, he himself used to distribute rice and clothes to the poor and the needy with a prodigal hand. It will thus be seen that, though Biswanath was a robber by profession, he was far above the level of ordinary outlaws. A person who for years kept the whole of the district of Nadiya in a state of constant dread, who did not stoop to the meanness of robbing the poor, who plunder the rich only to give to the needy, is not to be classed with Kelly of Australian bush-ranging notoriety or, with the Chinese pirates. Already Biswanath's character has been invested with something of the halo of romance with which Harrison Ainsworth has invested the characters of such noted outlaws as Dick Turpin and Jack Sheppard. Babu Srish Chandra Mazumdar, a young Bengali novelist of rising reputation, has made the Bengali outlaw's life and deeds by "field and flood" the theme of his highly-interesting and recently-published novel entitled *Biswanath*, to which, as also to Sir W. W. Hunter's brief account in the *Statistical Account of Nadiya District*, the present writer is indebted for much of the materials of this sketch.

The English outlaw seems to have been a semi-mythical personage who lived in the times of Richard I. and King John and haunted the forests of Sherwood and Barnsdale. Very little is known about his real life. But he is said to have been of a gallant and generous nature, ever genial, religious, respectful to women, with a certain gracious and noble dignity in his bearing. Like his English prototype, Biswanath, as we have seen, was also very generous towards the poor and needy and respectful towards the womenfolk. He was a faithful devotee of the goddess Kali, of a religious turn of mind, and always considerate to Brahmans and Vaishnabs. The English outlaw is said to have lived by poaching on the king's preserves and waged perpetual warfare on all proud bishops, abbots, and knights, helping himself to their superfluous wealth, and giving liberally to the poor and to all honest men in distressed circumstances. The Bengali outlaw also considered gorbellied knaves with long purses fair-game and committed his depredations on the rich only, giving away freely to the poor what he took from them. Robin Hood was unrivalled in the use of the bow and quarter-staff; but in some of the extant ballads he is represented as coming off the worse in

the combat with some stout fellow, whom he thereupon induces to join his company. Biswanath was very expert in the use of the sword and the *lathi*; but he came off second best in a friendly fencing match with Premchand Dom, a well-known club-man of those times, whom he afterwards induced to join his gang. The end of the English outlaw was an honourable one. He is said to have been treacherously bled to death by his kinswoman, the prioress, to whom he had gone for relief in his sickness. But Biswanath died an ignominious death, expiating his offences on the gallows.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

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## ART. V.—A GOLD STANDARD FOR INDIA.

"I hope and believe that the establishment of a gold standard will relieve the Government of India from the ever-growing cause of expenditure and troublesome fluctuations." (Sir D. Barbour in introducing the Currency Act of 1893. *The Times of India*, 30th June, 1893.)

**I**N setting forth a condemnation of the policy which aims at the establishment of a gold currency for India, two difficulties confront me. For one thing, I find no solid position to attack; for there never has been, nor will there ever be, any serious attempt to prove that the adoption of a gold standard for India would be advantageous to the country. For the other, I find it hard to steer clear of the many and wide issues involved and shape my course undisturbed to the goal I have in view. I will do my best, however, to avoid all but widely accepted economical axioms, and, with arguments based on these alone, I hope to show to demonstration that the adoption of a gold standard would be, except in one unimportant direction, entirely opposed to the interests of India.

On what did the belief in the virtues of a gold standard chiefly rest? Briefly it rested on the fallacy that silver had been for years falling in value, and that India was, thereby, burdened in the payment of her annual dues to England, and hence a change of standard was a necessity.

Now, it has been proved over and over again that silver had not fallen in value up to the date of the closing of the mints;\* that its fall in price was due solely to the rise in the value of gold, and that it was this appreciation of gold which was so burdensome to India. I find that this view is now widely accepted by those who consider this question, and I will treat it as an economical axiom; the few who may still believe that silver had fallen in value, and that gold had not appreciated, need read no further.

Since, then, silver up to 1893 was stable in value, what in truth was the ever-growing cause of expenditure the growth of which Sir D. Barbour set himself to combat? It was the continued and steady rise in the value of gold which, measuring as that metal did the indebtedness of India to England, slowly but surely increased the weight of her annual burden. How, then, could the establishment of a gold standard "relieve the Government of India from the ever-growing cause of expenditure?" I know not; but how it could and must increase the cause of expenditure is manifest.

The belief, a belief as false and pernicious as it was wide-

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\*For one clear proof of this, see note at end of this article.

spread, that the adoption of a gold standard would prevent the increasing expenditure, originally led, in great measure, to the currency legislation. Yet it needs no argument to prove that, if India were to adopt a gold standard, and accept sovereigns in payment of fifteen-rupee dues, she would but increase the value of gold, thus taking a course diametrically opposed to that along which her true interests lie.

To make this perfectly clear, I will point out what the currency future of India will be if the legislation is not repealed. To do this, I will briefly review the salient points of currency history since 1873.

In 1873, Germany began to establish a gold standard; she began, therefore, to make considerable demands on the stock of gold in the world, with the natural result that gold commenced rising in value. Other countries followed suit, and, since supply, far from keeping pace with demand, rather fell off between 1873 and 1883, gold rose in value, and nearly every commodity, silver included, fell in its gold price; in 1893 gold had increased about 47 per cent. in purchasing power. Sauerbeck's Index numbers for gold are for 1873, 111; for 1893, 62.\* In February, 1895, the Index number fell to 60, and there it remained for some time practically stationary, though a tendency to rise seems now to have set in. What course will gold take in the future? The average output of gold from 1852 to 1871 was £25,000,000, the production then decreased until it stood at about £20,000,000 in 1883; it then began again to rise, but did not reach the production of the former years of plenty till 1892. In 1896 the production was about £45,000,000† and the estimate of production for 1897 is considerably higher. For many years, then, demand surpassed supply, and gold rose in value and was eagerly sought after by the nations generally, some even hoarding it to a great extent. But now, owing to the discovery of new fields and to improved methods of extraction, supply tends to outrun demand, and the tide of the value of gold will probably ebb. That it would now ebb, but for the mistaken policy of silver standard countries adopting or attempting to adopt a gold standard, there is not the smallest doubt. India, therefore, a gold debtor country, might already see on the horizon, but for her insane desire for a gold standard, the dawn of better days with her gold burden gradually growing lighter. But the legislation which India has devised for herself steps in, and, by providing for the acceptance of a sovereign for every fifteen-rupee due, postpones indefinitely the relief which natural causes had provided. Could India have devised a currency scheme more hostile to her true interests?

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\**Viz.*, £62 bought in 1893 what it took £111 to buy in 1873.

†From the *Statist* of 25th September, 1897.



I propose briefly to consider how so widespread a fallacy as that the establishment of a gold standard could cause the ever growing expenditure to cease has taken root. It has taken root in a fallacy which the ostrich is popularly supposed to share.

Under present currency conditions the annual payment due from England to India is measured by a certain number of sovereigns in England and of rupees in India. Let us suppose the number in the one case to be 20 million and in the other 320 million. These are the measures of indebtedness. India pays to England neither sovereigns nor rupees, she pays certain quantities of commodities which she has produced over and above her own requirements. Let us assume this produce to be one million bales of cotton. Now I wish to emphasise this fact, that, as long as the value of gold, the measure of indebtedness, and the value of the produce with which the debt is discharged, vary not, so long will the burden of the debt remain unchanged; the variation of silver in value would in no wise affect the burden.\* The only two effective factors are the value of the creditor's measure of the debt, and the value of the debtor's produce with which the debt is discharged. The debtor's monetary measure of the value of the produce is, in this connection, of no account. If India made use of silver for the discharge of her debts, its value would be of importance; but since India, like any other country, can but discharge her debts with surplus produce, and since there is not only no surplus production of silver in India, but no production at all, we clearly must leave out silver altogether as a factor in the case; for India can never use silver to pay her debts, even if the creditor country desired silver in payment.

The position is quite simple; but it is, perhaps, worth a few more words to present it quite clearly. I here give three columns A, B and C. A gives the assumed present condition of the annual indebtedness as between India and England; B gives the conditions of the same on gold rising ten per cent., C on silver falling ten per cent., in value. Under B the actual burden (the bales of cotton), it is plain, is increased, under C it remains unchanged.†

Measure of dues  
payable by India in

	Sterling		Rupees.		Commodities.
A ...	20 million	...	320 million	...	1,000,000 bales.
B ...	20 million	...	352 million	...	1,100,000 bales.
C ...	20 million	...	352 million	...	1,000,000 bales.

\* I do not overlook the fact that great variations in the rupee would require adjustments of taxation, but this is beside the question.

† Inasmuch as India possesses large stores of silver, a fall in silver would affect *pro rata* her actual wealth; but it could never alter, by so much as one tola, the weight of the burden of her indebtedness to England.

Under the present monetary conditions, then, between England and India, when gold rises in value India *sees* the increase of her burden in the fall of the rupee in price, but it is not the fall of the rupee that is the burden, but the rise in gold which entails an increased export to meet it. Now, if India were to adopt a gold standard, the increased demand would increase the value of gold and the weight of India's burden ; but, inasmuch as the measure of the debt and the measure of its discharge would be the same, India would not *see* the increase in her burdens, and would, perhaps, be able to persuade herself that the increase was not there. I think, therefore, that we may recognise that there is a very close resemblance between the stratagem Sir D. Barbour employed to avoid the bugbear of increasing financial burdens, and the stratagem the ostrich proverbially adopts to avoid its enemies.

I may briefly sum up this portion of the argument by saying that a gold standard, far from relieving the Government of India from the ever-growing cause of expenditure, could but increase the burden to a serious extent ; for it would greatly augment the demand for gold in the world, and *pro rata* the value of gold and the weight of India's sterling debt.

Let us now return to Sir D. Barbour's profession of faith at the head of this article. "The establishment of a gold standard will relieve the Government of India from——troublesome fluctuations." This is perfectly true ; the country will have a heavier burden to meet, but exchange will no longer add its element of uncertainty to the accounts.

We have now reached the bed-rock of the argument. The Government of India, while fluctuations in exchange continue, are unable to budget satisfactorily year by year. This is absolutely the only argument which can be reasonably put forward in favour of this barbarous, retrogressive, and in many respects injurious, legislation. Are the Government content to renounce their so stable silver standard, to embark on an indefinitely large expenditure, to introduce a currency unfitted for the wants of the people, and seriously increase the burden of the sterling debt which weighs so heavily on the country, in order to enable the financial authorities to balance more nicely their income and expenditure beforehand ; I can hardly think it. In the first place would Government attain the end they have in view ? Would they, reckoning in sovereigns, be able to declare with certainty that their expenditure would be, say, 49½ and their income 50 million sterling. Would the assimilation of the standard with that of England prevent famine and loss of revenue ? Would it prevent frontier expeditions and increase of expenditure ? Would it prevent the numerous conditions of uncertainty which preclude all hope of a perfectly satisfactory forecast of the annual accounts ?



Only on the assumption that a gold standard would lighten the burdens of India, would remove all uncertainties of income and expenditure, and would eventually place the country on a sure financial footing with a currency suited to the country's needs, could it be wise and politic to undergo the vast expenditure of procuring gold for the standard ; and on no possible assumption could it be wise to introduce gold by the method at present employed, a method which cannot fail, long ere it attains its object, to disastrously affect trade developments.

Let us always bear in mind that, in whatever manner Government may procure the needful gold, whether by direct purchase, or by loan, or by the slow, the hopelessly slow method employed, this gold must be paid for . We are apt to forget that the use of gold as a medium of exchange is an expensive luxury ; we are apt to overlook the fact that of all currencies a gold currency, on the score of expensiveness, is the worst ; that a paper currency would be the best, for it is the cheapest, and would be universally employed could it be made, like a full-value currency, self-regulating ; that the next best would be iron, or copper, or any cheap metal, were it not, even for poor people, too cumbersome for use ; and it is certain that we fail to understand that silver comes next, and, as being most perfectly adapted to a poor country, is far superior to gold, which is when not a necessity, the worst form of currency possible. Are we, then, to continue this ruinous policy, a policy which must entail an expenditure considerably exceeding that on the plague, famine and war of 1897, a policy which must temporarily derange our trading interests, in order that the task of balancing our annual accounts may be fulfilled with greater ease and certainty ? For, strange though it may seem, this is the true and final issue.

I do not think it can be reasonably argued, from the mercantile point of view, that ordinary variations of exchange are so grievous to trade that merchants would gladly bear their present and indefinite troubles in order to escape them. Should we have ever heard of the troubles of exchange had exchange never fallen below 1s. 8d ? I think not ; it was not the fluctuations, but the fall, in exchange which set every one agog. I do not think I could find in Calcutta or Bombay one merchant of position who would prefer to bear for a further indefinite period the present unsatisfactory monetary conditions in order to be freed some day from variations in exchange. If I am right in this view, then but the one issue remains, that all the evils which accompany the introduction of a gold standard will

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\* Government could, no doubt, exchange their rupee reserve of eight crores for a reserve of about five millions sterling, but I doubt if less than twenty-five millions sterling would be required to effectively create a gold standard.

be borne in order to eliminate one element of uncertainty in forecasting our annual income and expenditure.

If the adoption of a gold standard is a mistaken policy, and if the present no-policy cannot indefinitely continue, what road is left for us to take? A very simple answer is at hand; we must return to the natural conditions of open mints and a silver standard. We could not hesitate to do so did we understand the questions involved. Let us remember these three things: that a free and elastic currency is the life-blood of commerce; that closed mints must, in time, cause stagnation in trade; and let us above all clearly grasp the fact, that *no reasonable objection exists to our return to the normal condition*. I know it is urged and widely urged that, if the mints were opened, the rupee would fall to bullion point, to the price, that is, of about ten pence. If people would sometimes think for themselves, so great a fallacy could never have become so universal. What was the effect of closing the mints? It depressed silver about ten pence an ounce. What, therefore, would be the effect of opening them? The effect would be, there can be little doubt, to raise silver about ten pence an ounce, that is to say, 37*d.* equal to a rupee price of 1*s.* 2½*d.* We who have seen the rupee with closed mints at 1*s.* 0¼*d.*, should be content, I think, to return to normal conditions with the rupee at over 1*s.* 2*d.*, knowing, as we ought to know, that, under the present conditions of the gold industry, *and with India no longer standing as a would-be buyer at the gates of the gold market*, the price of the rupee could never fall lower, and must before long slowly rise.

I should like here to bring to prominent notice two extraordinary fallacies which are widely held. (1) We know that the Sherman Act had no visibly permanent effect on the value of silver; yet we hold generally that the repeal of the Act, if the legislation had not preceded it, would have greatly depressed silver; indeed, dread of the repeal was a notable factor in deciding the Government to legislate. (2) We know that the Currency Act of 1893 had a great effect on the value of silver; yet we refuse generally to understand that the repeal of the legislation would raise silver. Are not these extraordinary contradictory opinions? In one case we have an Act which was inoperative, but we hold that the repeal of it would have serious consequences. In the other case we have an Act which had serious consequences, but we hold that its repeal would be inoperative. The Sherman Act is ineffective; but its repeal would be effective. The Barbour Act is effective; but its repeal would be ineffective. Does it not seem that those who approach the currency question leave common sense behind, and is it not self-evident that, if the mints were re-opened, silver would rise considerably, probably to 37*d.* an ounce?



Let me, in conclusion, place before my readers the two positions which the supporters of the legislation have held in defending it.

The first position in 1893 was this. Silver has been falling steadily in value for many years, and is still falling; hence our income in rupees with difficulty meets our expenditure in gold, and we must, failing bimetallism, take some steps to remedy the trouble. The reason of the fall in the currency is obvious; silver countries have been pouring their rubbish into the mints, and the currency has become redundant and has depreciated; we must prevent a further fall, and we must get rid of our silver standard to prevent all recurrence of the trouble. Such was the first position, and in 1893 it seemed a strong one; but it has been carried, at a considerable expenditure of paper and ink, by the overwhelming force of the argument that a full value currency like our silver currency is self-regulating and *cannot* become redundant, and that *in fact* the rupee had *not* depreciated. From this first position, then, the supporters of the legislation have been compelled to retreat, and now defend their policy by arguing that:—

(2) The evils of the variation in exchange are so troublesome, and the difficulties of financing the country, and of balancing the accounts under the changing price of the rupee are so great, that it is necessary at any cost to introduce a gold standard assimilating the Indian and English standard. Is this a strong position? Opinions may differ; to my mind it is hardly worth attacking. But at least let us clearly understand what the issues are. Either an enormously expensive gold currency, and an indefinite continuance of the present unsatisfactory conditions, or the troubles of a varying exchange, troubles such as they are which India bore for fifty years without a murmur.

I would ask two final questions. The increased value of gold was the cause of the rupee falling in price, and the cause of the increase of India's financial burdens. This being so, can it be wise to adopt a gold standard, and thus still further increase the value of gold and the weight of the burdens? Secondly, invariability in value is the one pre-eminent virtue in a standard. Silver was ever, until the currency legislation was passed, pre-eminently stable; is it wise to renounce so good a standard and adopt one which has proved itself to be, to say the least of it, most inferior to silver in stability?

EDWARD FRERE MARRIOTT.

NOTE I.—The advantage of a gold standard is purely imaginary and rests on no logical basis. How little this question is understood in its economical bearings, even by a merchant versed in difficult monetary problems and applying himself ardently to their solution, is shown by the following extract from Mr. Sleight's writings in *The Bombay Gazette*:—"In the

past twenty-five years the country has been absorbing a metal which has continuously sunk in value and promises to sink still deeper, and this, too, in exchange for commodities sold against gold. Had the gold been received instead of the silver, how much richer and more prosperous would India have been to-day." That silver had been sinking in value for many years is, of course, a fallacy which most of us have discarded now; but the majority would accept the latter part of the sentence as a truism almost, although it is devoid of truth. Had India been a gold currency country, then the demand for gold must have *pro tanto* increased, and its value increased likewise; in other words the measure of her indebtedness would have been of higher value even than it is now, and her burden proportionately increased. For this increase in the burden of India's annual dues would be in no way balanced by the higher value of the greater stores of gold which she would possess. For these stores, by the hypothesis, would be required for the purposes of internal exchange, and could not be sold or in any way realised. And, although general opinion unhesitatingly sides with Mr. Sleight's conclusion, there can be no doubt whatever that India would have been considerably poorer to-day, and not more prosperous, had she adopted a gold standard twenty-five years ago.

NOTE 2.—The following proof of the generally unchanging value of silver and its non-depreciation for eleven years previous to the legislation will be of interest. The Indian prices were contributed by Mr. Fred. Atkinson to *The Pioneer*; the China prices are taken from figures given by Consul Jamieson of Shanghai in a Foreign Office Report, Miscellaneous Series No. 305. The Indian prices are compared, it is seen, with those of the year 1871, the China prices with the average of the prices of the five years, 1870-74 :—

*Indian Prices.*

1871	... 100
1881-82	... 98.9
1883	... 92.7
1884	... 94.5
1885	... 94.6
1886	... 92.9
1887	... 92.7
1888	... 95.9
1889	... 99.6
1890	... 103.9
1891	... 98.2
1892	... 100.4

*Chinese Prices.*

1870-74	... 100
	96.1
	99.4
	92.4
	92.0
	100.1
	95.5
	97.2
	96.8
	100.4
	94.5
	96.9

The average level of the eleven years is according to the Indian Tables 96.8, according to the China Tables 96.5. The average level of silver is thus 3.2 per cent. above the Indian level of 1871, and 3.5 per cent. above the China level of 1870-74. We may, I think, safely conclude that each of these tables tells practically the exact facts as to the average value of silver during those years.

NOTE 3.—It is not unusual to defend the legislation by the argument that it is but a method of taxation, raising the value of the commodity by which the taxes are measured, and thus avoiding further direct taxation which it would be impolitic to levy. For one thing we are able, out of the mouth of Sir D. Barbour himself, to deny that the legislation was passed with this end in view; for Sir D. Barbour in "The Currency Problem from an Indian point of view," on pp. 19-20 thereof, declared that the great objection to the legislation was lest it should increase taxation, a danger which he was glad to say had been avoided. Secondly, were the view correct, would not legislation which diminishes the value of every big and little silver hoard in the country be a source of political danger far greater than any direct taxation which could be devised? If we are to fear danger from increased taxation surely we should fear legislation which has such a widespread and disastrous effect on the vast hoards of India, an effect which sooner or later will make itself known and felt throughout the country.



## ART. VI.—ENGLAND AND RUSSIA.

THE words used to express the two great Empires of the modern world are, obviously, inadequate. "England," for one who tests the language that he employs, means the country of a Teutonic race who came from the sandy flats at the mouth of the Elbe and settled in Britain; "Russia" being the name of the plain that lies between the Black Sea and the Ural Mountains. We use the words, now and here, in another and a much wider sense, in which "England" stands for a dominion stretching from Shetland to New Zealand, from Hong-Kong to Alaska, over nearly nine millions of square miles, and with an aggregate population amounting to a full fifth of the human race; while the area and number of inhabitants of the Russian Empire are somewhat less, but the latent capacities in no small degree superior. Such Powers can have but one out of two alternative destinies; either they must be antagonists, or they must move on parallel lines.

For many years, undoubtedly, the former was, by most Englishmen, believed in as the inexorable future; and the movements, the very aspirations, of the Muscovite people and their rulers were to be suspected, opposed, crushed; their commerce impeded; their very access to the sea cut off. The Russians had to pick up the glove; it can hardly be necessary to do more than remind the reader of the events of 1878, when England interposed to save Constantinople, and Russia retorted by the mission of General Stolieteff to Cabul. The nature of these proceedings was revealed, beyond all possibility of misapprehension, when Lord Beaconsfield made his "Peace with Honour" arrangement and Sher Ali was left to die in abdication at Mazar Sharif. Then came the scuffle at the "Brick-bridge," commonly known as the Panjdeh incident; when the wise restraint of the Amir and the pacific character of Alexander III. combined to extinguish what, for a moment, looked like a mine of explosive matter. We shall refer to some details presently.

The latest ostensible symptoms of the lingering jealousies of the two Powers was seen in the operations of the Turkestan officers in the Pamir and the march on Chitral, with all that has ensued. And now we hear of Russian officers directing the movements of the Mohmands and of a proposed combination of a concert against England, arranged by the would-be Bandmaster of Europe, William the Noisy, in which Russia is to play first fiddle. True, this policy is in opposition to the real interests of the German Emperor, even as it is to all his family

ties. His feelings towards his English mother must be worth something, although we do not hear much about them. But he is never weary of proclaiming his veneration for his grandfather, the Emperor William I., and the English sympathies of this old hero are well-known. It is possible that the feather-brained young despot may have thought of the alleged conspiracy, and may have even made hasty expression of his thought to some about him; it is at least equally likely that some other and more practical idea may drive it out of his head.

Certainly the entertaining of such a project by the Russian Government would not be difficult to imagine; and in such a project Russia might well calculate on the concurrence of the French. That great but impulsive people does not love our country, and is very ready to follow any Russian lead. But, be the mind of the Kaiser ever so full of Anglo-phobic turbulence, France will not join without that lead; hence our relations with Russia must evidently be of consummate moment and importance. If the British nation preserves its attitude of suspicion towards Russia, it will not matter very much whether Germany remains neutral or not; the adhesion of that empire to a league for attacking us is in the highest degree improbable; but if it could be carried into effect, one result would be to break up the present rather shaky *Triplce*. The Italians would be no party to such proceedings, and we should almost certainly secure the support of Austro-Hungary, where we are popular and where the Emperor has purposes of his own in which we are less likely to thwart him than would be any other Power. Moreover, the South German States—already fretting under the predominance of the North—would probably refuse their adhesion; in which case Prussia would find herself isolated but for any temporary use that might be made of her by her perennially hostile neighbours to East and West.

But to leave speculation, let us see what lessons are to be derived from the facts of history. Perhaps we may find that we have no great reason to look down on the political morality of Russia, and that our fears of her hostility are not without justification in the past. Conscience, says Hamlet, doth make cowards of us all; and the consciences of English statesmen may well be uneasy when they think of some actions of their country in bygone years.

To go no further back than the Crimean War, a period within the memory of many persons not yet sunk in senility. At the end of the year 1852, Louis Napoleon, having exiled his opponents and terrorised Paris, had referred to the adult males of France, through the departmental prefects, and had announced that his proceedings were endorsed by a seven and



a half millions majority. On the 5th December he accordingly proclaimed himself Emperor under the title of Napoleon III., and the Church of France chanted "*Domine salvum fac Imperatorem.*" It remained only to give the Almighty every possible aid in the task of saving the Emperor. The British Government hastened to offer its recognition; that of the Czar was more reserved. The key of the manger in which the Prince of Peace was said to have made his first appearance in the world soon furnished a test of the mutual feelings of France and Russia. The Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem having—under orders from the French Ambassador—helped himself to this relic, Count Nesselrode was directed to protest in the name of the Greek Church, and of his master, Nicholas, the Czar. In a sneering despatch it was announced that "the Emperor had considered it necessary to adopt, at the outset, precautionary measures . . . to neutralise the effect of the French Ambassador's threats, and to guard himself, *in any contingency, against a Government accustomed to act by surprise.*" Nicholas went on to refuse the new-fangled Emperor the title of "my brother," only addressing him as "Sir!" The political atmosphere became lurid; the guardian angels of the two nations—now so fondly united—stood apart with angry eyes, appealing to the sympathies of Europe.

While matters on the Continent were in this electrical condition, our Island was involved in a political crisis. The Cabinet of Lord Derby had been defeated in the House of Commons and had resigned, and a new Ministry had been formed of which Lord Aberdeen was the nominal head; the Foreign Secretary being Lord John Russell, and the moving spirit Lord Palmerston, who had not long before been dismissed from the Foreign Office and now obtained the portfolio of Home Secretary. Palmerston's dismissal from the last Liberal Ministry had been due to an indiscreet expression of sympathy with Louis Napoleon, who was his personal friend; and his regard for the new French Empire had not been weakened by recent events.

Things being so—namely, the French ruler ambitious, the Czar angry, Austria and Prussia irresolute—, "a penny in the slot" was all that was needed to set in motion the machinery of war. This impulse was given by Nicholas. On a cold morning in January, 1853, the thought occurred to the Autocrat that enmity might be advantageously sown on both shores of the Straits of Dover; and in the course of the evening of the 9th his Majesty found his first opportunity at an evening party at the house of the Archduchess Helena in St. Petersburg, where he met the British Ambassador, Sir Hamilton Seymour. On the 21st February he proceeded to develop the suggestions of

the former meeting. "I tell you," said the Czar to the Ambassador, "that, if your Government has been led to believe that Turkey retains any element of existence, it must have received incorrect information. The sick man is dying, and we can never allow such an event to take us by surprise." Next day the conversation was renewed: Constantinople was mentioned; and the Czar repudiated any intention of seizing it, preparing to suggest neutralisation. The Balkan States would, however, be taken under Russian "protection;" the importance of Egypt to the English was recognised; they might help themselves to the Nile valley and also to an adjacent island—Crete was suggested as a convenient place-of-arms.

What was the result on the report of these propositions being known in England must be generally familiar. At first, indeed, the British Government was moderate in its language; but Palmerston had an axe of his own to grind; he wished to cement an alliance with Napoleon III., and he was probably not unwilling to put spokes in Lord John's wheels. Readers of Kinglake remember the reading of the despatch to a slumberous council, and the declaration of war by the *Times* newspaper. Making allowance for the exigencies of picturesque prose, we may fairly assume that, with the vindictive "Ilchi" at Constantinople—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe—, and the energetic but intriguing "Pam" in London, public opinion became more and more agitated. On the other hand, Nicholas was not idle. An ill-judged visit of Quakers to his capital, coupled with the known pacific character of Lord Aberdeen, led him to disbelieve in the reality of British indignation; Austria was neutral, Prussia even more; and the Autocrat went forward with his schemes. In May, 1853, Prince Menschikoff, Russian Minister to the Porte, obtained a private interview with the Sultan; but the British Envoy, Lord Stratford, had been beforehand with him and strengthened the Sultan by a promise of support: "in the event of imminent danger" the fleet would be summoned from the Mediterranean; on the 15th, Menschikoff took his departure and repaired to Odessa; in June Nesselrode announced the intention of the Czar to occupy the Danubian Provinces; on the same day the British squadron was ordered to the Dardanelles.

In the course of the next eighteen months war was waged between Russia on the one side and four nations, the French, English, Turks, and Piedmontese on the other. Finally, the Czar lost his fleet, his army, and his life; and a treaty was extorted from his son which hardly lasted twenty years, but gave a new lease of life to the Sick Man and left him free to surround his couch with Christian corpses.

Allusion has been already made to the next occasion on



which the Russians again came into disastrous contact with Great Britain ; but it is necessary that we should look a little closer into the events of 1878 if we would see how the task of "maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire" was undertaken ; the same which had been the alleged object of the Crimean War. In the latter part of the year 1876 the Czar declared war against Turkey, having earnestly requested the British Minister at his Court—Lord A. Loftus—to "do his utmost to dispel the cloud of suspicion and distrust of Russia which had gathered in England." The alleged reason for the war was the refusal of the Sultan to give guarantees for reforming his administration. In the following June the Russian Government undertook to respect British interests. "So long as England remains neutral . . . Egypt should not be brought within the radius of military operations : as to Constantinople, the Imperial Cabinet repeats that the acquisition of that capital is excluded from the views of his Majesty the Emperor."

A long and bloody struggle ensued, during which, as officially reported, the Russian losses amounted to over sixty-thousand men. The lines of Plevna were at last surrendered by Osman Pacha ; and, the Sultan invoking the mediation of the neutral powers, Queen Victoria addressed a personal appeal to the Czar, begging him to "accelerate the negotiations for an honourable peace." The British fleet was ordered to the Dardanelles, and on the 29th January, 1878, the Foreign Office in London was notified that the Porte had sent plenipotentiaries with authority to accept the bases of peace offered by Russia. The British Cabinet on this obtained a credit of six millions and ordered troops to be sent from India to the Mediterranean. On the 3rd March a treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey was signed at San Stefano, in which Russia was awarded certain compensations, in money and territory ; and provision was made for the free passage of merchant vessels through the Dardanelles, in time of peace and in time of war.

But the Czar was not "satisfied. The great Powers had so long undertaken the "protection" of the Turkish territory, in other words that no individual power should take any part of it unless all joined in the scramble, that he felt that the final arrangements should be secured by a general Congress. Accordingly, at his Imperial Majesty's instance, Bismarck invited all the great Powers to assemble by their accredited agents at the Prussian capital. At the same time the reserves were called out in England—a step which led to the resignation of Lord Derby, following the example of Lord Carnarvon, who had left the Cabinet a short time before,

While these discussions were pending, the Russian Government adopted a vigorous measure, which may be taken as sounding the keynote of their future policy in regard to British India. They met the arrival of Indian troops in the Mediterranean by the indisputably appropriate counter-stroke of sending a mission to Sher Ali, the Amir of Cabul, then known to be in a state of scarcely-veiled enmity towards the Government of India. So far as Russian policy is concerned, there need be no doubt of the object with which the mission was undertaken. If you, said the Muscovite, look upon your Indian garrison as a force to be used to check us in Europe, we will cause you such trouble in India as shall make you glad to call your troops together in Asia and keep them there. It was a plain answer to the late proceedings of the Queen's Government and a warning signal for future guidance.

But, before Colonel Stolieteff and his party could reach Cabul, British policy had taken a new departure. Not only had the Cabinet of St. James's accepted the invitation to Berlin in the person of its two most prominent members, but they had entered into a secret agreement with Russia as to the general lines of the future, besides concluding a separate agreement with the Porte. With the morality of these doings, our argument has no concern. Denied at first, the Russian agreement was made public by the enterprise of a London evening journalist on 14th June ; but the labours of the Congress continued until the 13th of the following month, when Lords Salisbury and Beaconsfield returned from Berlin, bringing (as they said) peace with honour ; and also (which was more to the purpose) bringing the promise of good things in the shape of Egypt and Cyprus.

It is not the purpose of the above curt relation to find fault with any party, or with any man ; but it seems not wholly idle to point out that two of the ablest men in the Ministry attested by a public act their disapproval of the course adopted. As to the immediate result, we can hardly wonder if the public opinion of the whole conduct attributed to our rulers a cynical spirit, a grasping policy thinly veiled in hypocritical verbiage. To this pass had come our zeal for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, that we retired from its championship with two Provinces ; and these substantially the same as had aroused our indignation when their acquisition had been suggested by the Emperor Nicholas in 1853. Crete, to be sure, we had not taken ; luckily, perhaps, for ourselves ; but we hold Cyprus, under a most flimsy disguise ; and in Egypt we seem planted *sine die*.

Now, this narrative has not been written in vain if it shows :

1. What is the real danger from the enmity of Russia.



2. What reasons Russia has for nourishing enmity against us.

Let us agree with our adversary while we are in the way with him. Let us, by all means, guard our own interests, with the sacrifice of life and goods if necessary ; but let us never again forget that other nations have their interests also. The scope of Russia's designs in Asia must be well known to the political experts in London. Her Majesty the Queen, as the oldest and most experienced of European politicians, must be well aware of the facts, as also in a less—but still considerable—degree must Lords Dufferin and Salisbury. Just before the fall of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1885, an understanding was arrived at with Russia by which Turkestan and Badakshan were secured to the Afghans with the full command of the Zulfikar Pass ; so that many of the Liberal leaders must be also aware of the general line and "trend" of Russian policy in Central Asia. Her objective is the sea ; a population of a hundred millions cries "Thalatta, Thalatta," and will not always cry in vain : the Siberian railway is the answer to this cry already.

But the conquest of India is in no sort of way needful ; and would only add to Russian responsibilities and remove to vulnerable quarters, that defence which the nation has hitherto possessed in the inaccessible nature of its territory. As for our own nation, it has only to rest calm and assured, in its own resolution and its naval strength. Long ago an English Admiral told King Henry VIII. that "a degree of frenzy was necessary to qualify a man for the station of a sea-officer." From Sir Richard Grenville down to recent times, our sea-officers have continued to show that they had learned that lesson, and were ready to defend the cause of their country with the Beresark audacity indicated by the old sea-dog and known to all mankind. The Mistress of the Seas has always been well served ; she has no occasion to remove from her native element and engage in adventures on land. If to that hazardous conduct she is to add the exasperation of the inhabitants of the border-land between Indian and Russian territory, Britain may find her undertakings beyond even her strength, undertakings in which the skill and courage of her marine service will be of no avail.

Russia is at present invulnerable ; so long as she retains her inland seclusion she can defy the world. Napoleon could do her no injury more permanent than could be inflicted upon her a century earlier by Charles XII of Sweden. But the Russians are not satisfied ; they long to burst the walls that confine, while they protect ; like the Princess in the enchanted tower, they long to go forth and mingle with the world. There is nothing unreasonable in such a craving ; and our country has

nothing to gain by hindering its fulfilment, even were it possible so to do.

But it is not possible, as our statesmen probably know. The subjects of the Czar are brave, patient, amenable to discipline and of an ardent patriotism; they have the habit of obedience, but there is considerable strength in the public opinion which—on very rare occasions—arises amongst them. One of their deepest convictions is that they are destined to possess Constantinople; and whenever the moment arrives, when that end becomes tangible, the most autocratic of governments would oppose it in vain. If the “integrity of the Ottoman Empire” were aught but a sham, it might be worth fighting for; but we have incontestable evidence that it is not.

Of one thing, at least, we may rest assured. It is the full intention of the Russian people that no one but themselves shall be the ultimate holders of Constantinople. The artichoke is being slowly devoured; England has taken two goodly leaves; France has Algeria and Tunis; Italy has her eye on Tripoly; Bosnia and Herzegovina are held by Austria, Russia alone has hitherto abstained, biding her time. When the final sharing takes place, Russia will neglect no measures necessary to secure the whole Black Sea littoral and the Dardanelles; and neither interest nor duty can justify our rulers in offering any opposition on behalf of the British Empire.

The time, then, is, by an increasing number of Englishmen, thought to have arrived for discarding the suspicions with which they have regarded Russia. Some doubt as to the possibility of the present British Government adopting the frank repudiation of ancient prepossessions involved in the policy here indicated is, however, still to be met with. It arises to a great extent from a vague, but general, doubt of Lord Salisbury's decision of character. According to a well-known report, very widely accepted nearly a score of years ago, Prince Bismarck said of him in 1878 that he was “a reed painted to look like a rail” (*un roseau peint en fer*). The saying is characteristic of the man to whom it was ascribed; even if he never uttered it, the general readiness with which it was accepted in London goes far to establish its substantial accuracy. But, whatever may be the defects of a distinguished statesman, they ought not to prevail over a deep conviction that the time has come for a change of conduct based on sincere repentance of past error.

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ART. VII.—THE DIARY OF GOVINDA DAS.

**B**ENGALI Literature before the Introduction of English Education was purely metrical and moved generally within the narrow grooves of religion and morality. It was, therefore, with much pleasure that we welcomed, some time ago, the publication of *Govinda Dāser Karchā*, a diary written by the mendicant Govinda, who accompanied Chaitanya on his travels, or rather pilgrimage, as his personal attendant, during the years 1508 and 1509. Govinda had exceptional opportunities for observing the manners and customs of the various countries through which Chaitanya moved, since Chaitanya was venerated as a sage, and, as his attendant, he obtained access to the highest Hindu society. Politically it was a very interesting period. The Bāhmani Empire had already been broken up and the five Musalman Kingdoms that rose out of its ruins had not yet been able to consolidate their power. The Hindu Princes were not slow to take advantage of the weakness of their Musalman neighbours. The whole of the coast of India, from the mouths of the Ganges to the mouths of the Indus, was almost exclusively Hindu. The few outposts which the great Bāhmani Minister, Mahmud Gawan, had established, had been retaken by the Hindus. The Kings of Orissa were very powerful. They held what we know to-day as Orissa, and the whole of the Northern Sircars besides; the whole of the Central Provinces was Hindu, and Chaitanya passed mostly through Hindu territories, with the exception of the Konkan and Guzerāt. The line of his travels, curiously enough, lay mostly through coast country and through Central India.—He was resolved, it seems, to avoid Musalman territory as much as possible. Chaitanya often met religious men of the Saiva, Vaisnava and Śākta sects, and they all treated him with kindness and consideration. He met with Buddhists also, and they abused him. There were dacoits on the way, but only in territories which had recently changed hands. We purpose, in this article, giving a detailed account of the contents of Govinda's diary.

There are people who doubt that Chaitanya ever took such a man as Govinda with him on his travels; and, in fact, his name is never mentioned in any of the standard works on the life of Chaitanya. But we know that, shortly after Chaitanya's death, the headship of the church fell to Nityānanda, and the personal followers of Chaitanya were at a discount. The standard works were all composed by men belonging to the dominant party; and this party was so bold as to ignore the existence of venerable followers of Chaitanya like Narahari Sarkār,

the head of the Vaidyas of Srikhanda, in Cutwa, who are still held in great respect by all classes of people. It is, therefore, not strange that they should omit to mention a poor monk like Govinda. Though we do not find Govinda's name in the standard works, we find him mentioned in more authentic records. Jayánanda, whose work on Chaitanya's life has been recently brought to light from various parts of the country and notably from an old collection of Bengali MSS. in the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, mentions Govinda Karmakár, the writer of this Diary by name, and Jayánanda was the son of one of Chaitanya's early followers and his name was given him by Chaitanya himself.

The MS. of the Diary was obtained from an obscure village in the Burdwan District. But unfortunately, like most Bengali MSS., it has not escaped the hand of improvers; and the improvements, mostly perceptible to experts, are the clumsiest things in the whole work.

Govinda Dás was the son of Shyáma Dás, a blacksmith by caste, who lived by manufacturing cutlery, and was an inhabitant of Kánchanagara, close to the city of Burdwan, still famous for such wares. His wife, he tells us naively, quarrelled with him and abused him; and, incensed at her conduct, he left his home and went away. This was in the Sáka year 1430, corresponding to 1508 A. D. On his arrival at Cutwa, he heard the name of Chaitanya and directed his steps towards Navadwipa, where the teacher was living. Walking over the fields, it took him a whole day and night to reach the river side, opposite Nadia. He crossed over early in the morning and easily reached the courtyard of Sribása, where Chaitanya was a frequent visitor. It was a place near the Balláladighi and the ruins of Ballál's palaces.

There for the first time he saw the handsome figure of Chaitanya, who came with four or five companions, one of whom was a Sanyási, to bathe in the river. The others slowly descended by the ghát; but the "Sanyási," it is related, disdaining this slow process, leapt from the high bank into the river. Last of the company was a venerable old man, with grey hair and grey beard reaching below the chest, and with a fascinating countenance even at that age. The Sanyasi swam across the river several times and then they all began to swim. They were in a sportive mood, Govinda tells us, and, as long as they were in the water, they played numerous tricks for their amusement, in all of which the Sanyási took a prominent part. After a time they returned to the river bank; and Govinda here gives a description of the personal appearance of Chaitanya.

We are told that his complexion was of extraordinary



brilliancy and his luxuriant jet black hair reached down to his hips. His eyes are described as large, "like the petals of a blue lotus," his cheeks as plump, his forehead as high, and his walk as stately. As he cried "Hari Bole," "Hari Bole," his attitude was that of the deepest devotion. His heart, we are told, was so tender that he ran to embrace everyone who claimed his pity. The sound of the name of Hari drew floods of tears from his eyes.

Govinda tells us that the sight of this sport in the water produced a strange effect on his mind. His hair stood erect and he began to tremble and perspire. He had heard before that the Great God had descended to the earth in the form of Chaitanya; he now felt the divine presence. He was seized with an ardent longing to devote himself to the service of this living God; to wash his feet with tears. While Govinda was in this state of religious exaltation, Chaitanya passed close to him and glanced curiously at his strange figure. Unable to resist the fascination of his presence, Govinda fell at his feet and began to roll on the ground. Chaitanya raised him by the hand and spoke to him. What his words were, Govinda does not say, but the sound of his voice fascinated the poor blacksmith. "In such a presence," says he, "people forget all their terrestrial blessings and are impelled to devote themselves to the service of God."

After the first access of enthusiasm had been allayed, Chaitanya asked Govinda his name and residence, and Govinda gave him a brief history of his life. Chaitanya thereupon offered him a place in his household and asked him to occupy himself with the service of Hari. The terms of his service were easy. He was to fetch Ganges water for the worship and gather Tulsi leaves for the same purpose. Here he got all he wanted.

The house of Chaitanya, which was situated at the southern extremity of the town of Navadwipa, was on a high bank of the river, and contained five huts. Close to the house was a large piece of water known as Ballál-ágar.

Of the companions of Chaitanya the most prominent were two; the old man with grey beard—Advaita Achárya, already mentioned, and the Sanyási named Nityananda, a madcap who constantly shed tears and rolled on the ground. Among them was old Murári Gupta, a physician by caste and profession; Narahari, the patriarch of the Vaidyas at Srikhandá, Vidyánidhi, the learned Brahman, and so on. Chaitanya's mother is described as an old lady of short stature and peaceful countenance, who constantly called aloud for Nimái, her favorite name for Chaitanya. Chaitanya's wife, Bishnupriya, is represented as a modest, bashful lady, always

anxious to please her lord by her services, who spoke in a voice so low that few people ever heard it. Govinda, as a servant of the house, was assiduous in his endeavours to please Vishnupriyá by his prompt and timely discharge of the household duties.

With all his good qualities, Govinda was very fond of eating ; and in Chaitanya's house he gave full reins to his voracity. There was a room in the house dedicated to Vishnu. As a Hindu, Chaitanya considered that his existence and the existence of everything around him was to serve but one end, *viz.*, the glorification of Vishnu ; and, with this conviction in his mind, he dedicated everything to the deity. The household furniture, the household utensils, the house and all its inmates, were for Vishnu. There can be no Hindu household without its Thákur. A Thákur may be either an image of Vishnu, or a Sálgrám, a black round piece of stone from the sources of the river Gandak, with a hole in it. It is believed that the hole is made by a kind of insect which leaves a circular mark in the interior of the hole. This mark is called the Chakra, or the disc of Vishnu, and the whole energy of a Hindu is to be devoted to the service of this household deity. If a new cloth is purchased, if a new piece of finery is obtained from a distant country, it should be first brought into the presence of Vishnu and there consecrated to his service before it can be used. The greatest anxiety of a Hindu is for the *bhoga*, or the mid-day meal of Vishnu, his *jalpany*, or tiffin, and his *sital*, or supper. For this purpose an inventory has been made in the works on Hindu ritual of all the articles that can be eaten. Some of these have been set down as pure, that is worthy of being presented to Vishnu, and others as impure, to be kept back from him. Now, a Hindu is supposed to eat the *prasád*, or the broken victuals of Vishnu ; and so, in theory, no edibles can be introduced into his house which cannot be presented to Vishnu. Fish, flesh, eggs, onion, and so on are impure substances and in theory should never be introduced into a Hindu household.

Cooked food can be eaten once during the day and once during the night. The tiffin, therefore, which is eaten for the second time in the day, should consist of uncooked articles of food such as fruits, molasses, sugar, butter, sour-milk, curds and various preparations of milk.

In Chaitanya's household the tiffin of Vishnu consisted of fruits, roots, sour-milk, butter, cream and thickened milk ; his midday meal of cooked rice, dál, green vegetables, bitter vegetables, hodge-podge, vegetable soup, and páyasa, or rice milk ; and his *sital*, or supper, of cakes (*luchi*), balls of sweetmeats, (*laddu*). All these preparations were made for the service of



Hari. All the food, cooked and uncooked, was brought before the image of Vishnu and consecrated to his service, and then distributed to the members of the household. It was the privilege of Govinda as the favorite servant of the household to eat the food left on the plate of Chaitanya. The members of the household were supposed to eat the leavings (prasád) of the god Vishnu, and the servants the leavings of the members of the Brahman household.

Chaitanya, we are told, passed his days and nights in loudly proclaiming the name of Hari. His principal rendezvous was the courtyard of Sribása pundit. This man was born at Kumárhatta, 28 miles north of Calcutta. He opened a (*tol*) Sanskrit College at Nadiya. His courtyard was surrounded on all sides by mud walls, and in the centre of this large yard there was a gigantic flowering plant named Kunda, the flowers of which are white and great favourites of Hari. The followers of Chaitanya were in the habit of assembling here in the morning in order to pluck the flowers with a view to offering them to their household deities, and they assembled here again in the afternoon also. They used to sing, dance, and read the Bhagabat; but their principal entertainments were dramatic performances. They would take some story from one of the various *Purānas* in honour of Vishnu, choose the *dramatis personæ* from amongst themselves and act. Chaitanya in all these performances took the part of Vishnu. Sometimes, while acting, he completely forgot his own existence and acted as if he had been himself Vishnu. Sometimes he would fall into a trance and remain unconscious of external existence for several hours, nay even for twenty-one hours, or seven *praharas*, at a time, and, while in these trances, he acted as if he were Vishnu. It was the belief of his followers that during these trances his human character was held in abeyance for the exhibition or manifestation of the divinity in him. They began to give out that he was an incarnation; but it must be said to the credit of Chaitanya that, except during the trances, he never spoke of himself as Vishnu. He always acted as a weak and humble follower of the god, devoted to the service of humanity; and he rebuked any one who ventured, in his presence, to talk of his divinity.

The method adopted by Chaitanya and his followers for preaching their religion was peculiar. They used to form a procession in the street, singing songs in praise of Hari, with certain musical instruments, the mridanga and kartáls, which have since become peculiar to his sect. The whole procession was known as Nagarkirtan, that is the proclamation of the glory of Hari in the city or town. This attracted large crowds to the street, and many, charmed with the matter of the songs, or with the manners and enthusiasm of the leaders of the procession,

joined them and became their followers. This was a potent instrument in the conversion of the people to Vaisnavism. While everything connected with Brahmanical worship was wrapped in impenetrable mystery, and, therefore, beyond the comprehension of the common people, Chaitanya appealed to their feelings, and, in songs charmingly persuasive, urged them to reform their lives and devote themselves to the service of God. And so, in the course of six or seven years immediately following his pilgrimage to Gya, he collected a considerable number of devoted followers round him.

Here is an instance related by Govinda of Chaitanya's losing his identity in Krishna. One fine evening, he tells us, there was a large gathering of Chaitanya's followers in Sribása's courtyard, when the tall, cheerful Sanyási entered crying: "This is the ghât in the Jamuna. This is the place where Krishna, in the company of the milkmaids of Brindában, amused himself with a *Rása* dance! Ah! where are those things now? where are the milkmaids and where is the dance? The ghât is empty." Thereupon Chaitanya rose from his seat perfectly unconscious, ran to the Ballálságar, jumped into it, and began to divert himself, just as Krishna is said to have done at Brindában, while his followers stood by the side of the tank marvelling at his conduct.

Thus, says Govinda, was Chaitanya falling deeper and deeper in love with his deity, while his person was getting thinner and thinner. But Chaitanya was not satisfied with all this, he felt that he was a householder, burdened with distracting duties to others that kept him away from his God—the sole object of his love. He began to talk of renouncing the world and devoting himself without interruption, without distraction, to the service of God, and for the relief of sinful and suffering humanity. The most abject sign of humility among Hindus, is to go abroad with a blade of grass in the mouth held between the teeth. And Chaitanya began to talk of holding a blade of grass between his teeth, and, in that position of abject humility, going from village to village proclaiming the name of Hari and thereby saving the souls of all creatures, without restriction of caste, creed, or colour.

The first declaration of his resolution to renounce the world was received by his followers with amazement. He was their leader; their friend; the object of their love; the object of their reverence and adoration; their god; their living and moving Vishnu. They lived in a sort of charmed circle and in the enjoyment of ecstatic delight. To lose him was for them to lose their lives. Govinda describes very minutely the sufferings of every one of Chaitanya's followers when he heard for the first time the declaration of Chaitanya. Govinda says that it would have been immensely



better if a thunder-bolt of heaven had burst on his head before he heard this declaration. On hearing the announcement, Mukunda fell senseless to the ground, and his tears flowed copiously. Gadadhur felt as if the canopy of heaven had come down upon him and was ready to take poison. Some felt as though they were being bitten by a thousand scorpions; some felt an intense burning sensation all over the body; some with their jaws locked, fell insensible to the ground. But the suffering of the mother and wife defied description. Chaitanya did his best to console them all. He told them many a stories from the Puránas—the stories of Prálhád, Dhruba, and Bharat; he explained to them the vanity of human wishes; the transitory nature of things mundane; he impressed upon them the sinfulness of the world and the absolute necessity of saving humanity, sunk deep in sin.

But, in spite of all his efforts to console his friends, to pacify his mother, and to reconcile his wife to her expected lot, Chaitanya was successful with none; and so he had to steal away at dead of night from a conjugal bed, on the last day of the month of Pous, in the year 1508 A.D., with Govinda as his sole companion in this great renunciation. But, though he succeeded in eluding the vigilance of his friends and even in lulling a loving wife to sleep, his mother he could not escape from. At his slightest motion, she ran out of the house and stood motionless in the doorway, gazing at her stubborn son, who renounced everything that is loved in this world for a higher love and a higher life.

Chaitanya crossed the river and took the road to Cutwa. He and Govinda reached their destination just at dusk; the hour when a Hindu city reverberates with the auspicious sounds of conches, bells and timbrels, and the fragrance of burning incense fills the streets. Chaitanya's friends at Cutwa collected round him, and the night passed in *Kirtan*. In the morning a large crowd assembled and he preached to these people. If you want to enjoy eternal happiness, worship Krishna, meditate on Krishna and take the name of Krishna. All the objects that you see around you are mere illusions. They are only a shadow. When death shall push you by the neck, all your fond idols will remain behind. There is absolutely no difference between rich bedsteads and the ground in the matter of sleeping. Those who think there is a difference suffer from the thought. Those whose heads are turned on the accession of wealth are hellish creatures. It is only ignorance that finds a difference between the rich and the poor; for what does a rich man require to appease his hunger? A morsel of food. Does not that appease the hunger of the poor man also? The poor man falls into sound sleep, though he lies on the ground; but

the rich man passes a sleepless night even on his precious bed. The rich man cannot appease his hunger with all his gold, diamonds, rubies and other precious stones. At the time of death there will be no distinction between a rich and a poor man. A fond illusion misleads the rich and makes him turn round and round and round, just as the bullock attached to the oil machine. Just as the bullock finds no end of his walking, and makes but very little progress, such is exactly the case with the rich man. He moves in a narrow circle and never comes to the end of his journey. When the soul leaves the body, this human frame remains like a cage without a bird. Fond of worldly enjoyment, selfish people are greatly attached to their temporal possessions. But what is the good of these? What will sons and daughters, palaces and tanks avail? A right-thinking man should give up all attachment to these and fix his mind on Krishna. He is the only abiding substance; all else is vain. The form of Krishna sheds its brilliant effulgence in every quarter and from every place. He only can catch a glimpse of it whose eye is pure. Ignorant people see with their human eyes. But the votaries of Krishna see with divine eyes. How can a man look into the subtle truths if his eyes are blinded with the dust of the world?

"People often talk of love; but who knows what love really is. Does it really mean the hankering after the company of women? No, the true idea of love will never be realised, unless and until one realises the absolute identity between males and females. It is not a mere hankering after progeny. It is a hankering after God. The faintest conception of true love produces a cooling effect in a suffering heart. Just as a young damsel hankers after her handsome lover, so should the votaries of Krishna hanker after his company. They should consider themselves as wives and him as their sole lord. He who hankers after Krishna will not even dream of sensual enjoyment. Just as darkness disappears in the presence of light, so will lust disappear in the presence of true love, and Krishna the embodiment of that love. If one is anxious to get rid of the sufferings of the world he should seek after this true love."

On the third day of his sojourn at Cutwa, Chaitanya asked his companions to make preparations for his initiation as a mendicant. The most imposing part of the ceremony of initiation is the shaving of the crown lock. From the description of Govinda it appears that Chaitanya's hair, instead of consisting of a small lock, covered his whole head. Deva, the barber of Cutwa, shaved him, and Keshab Bháratí, eighth in the succession of disciples from Rámánuja, the great founder of the Sri sect of Vaisnabas, initiated him and gave him Sri Krishna Chaitanya as his monastic name—a name by which



he has become famous. As a house-holder his name was Bisshwambhar. His mother used to call him Nimái.

There is a curious story about Deva, the barber, though it is not given in Govinda's work. After shaving the head of Chaitanya, Deva repented, as if he had done a great crime. In a suppliant attitude, with his palms joined, he came to Chaitanya and asked him for a boon, so as to absolve him from the necessity of carrying on any further the painful and miserable calling of a barber. So saying, he threw away his razor. Chaitanya granted him the boon desired, and told him to become a maker of sweetmeats; and Deva and his descendants were afterwards known as Madhu Nápits, and lived by the sale of sweetmeats and confectionery. In Bengal there is another caste known as Mayará who practice the same calling; but the caste constitution of the Mayarás differs considerably from that of the Madhu Nápits. The Mayarás are sub-divided into Asramas, while the Madhu Nápits are not so subdivided. The subdivisional names of castes are generally derived from their geographical distribution. There are two castes only which are subdivided into Asramas, *viz.*, the Gandha Baniks and the Mayarás. Though the Madhu Nápits differ so greatly from the Mayarás, yet in ordinary language they also are called Mayarás.

Shortly after his initiation, Chaitanya left Cutwa and arrived at Sántipore, where his elderly associate, Advaita lived. There he stayed for a few days; and his mother came there, from Nadia, which is within twenty miles by the river. Govinda says very little about this interview between Chaitanya and his mother, but other authors have described it in very touching terms. It was there settled that Chaitanya should live principally at Puri; so that his friends might see him on their pilgrimage to that shrine and his mother might receive occasional news of him.

Chaitanya at last started for Puri. From the day of their first meeting, Govinda was his constant attendant, and so he remained even after his great renunciation. From Sántipore, at the end of the first day's journey, they reached Burdwan, and Chaitanya accepted the hospitality of Govinda's family at Kánnannagar, which is close to Burdwan. There Govinda's wife tried every means to persuade Govinda to remain at home; but he had already renounced the world and embraced a mendicant life on the same day with Chaitanya at Cutwa. From Kánnannagar they crossed the Dámodar and reached the house of Kási Mitra, a man renowned for his hospitality. As Chaitanya was a Brahman and a mendicant, Kási Mitra, who was a Káyastha, could not offer him cooked rice; he offered, instead, raw rice and pulse. The rice was so excellent that

Chaitanya wanted to know its name. Among the numberless varieties of rice which grow in India, the pride of western Bengal is the Govinda bhoga. It is small in size, soft and sweet to the taste, and very fragrant. What Kási Mitra offered to Chaitanya was a variety of Govinda bhoga, named Jagannáth bhoga. As soon as Kási Mitra pronounced that name, it produced a convulsion of feeling, and he began to weep, praying that Jagannáth might draw him near. Chaitanya cooked many curries ; a vegetable soup ; fried *sák* (a pot-herb) of the *beto* variety. The fragrance of the curries was too much for poor Govinda to bear, and he began to cast wistful glances at them. Chaitanya knew Govinda's failing too well and at once bade him bring a few tulsi leaves with which to consecrate the things to Vishnu before eating. Chaitanya ate first and left the rest for Govinda, who records that the bitter soup was charming and gladdened his heart. "I ate," he continues, "eight pieces of fried *karela*, swallowing large mouthfuls of rice with it in quick succession. The chutney prepared with *chukápálam* and molasses tasted like nectar." In the afternoon they left Kási Mitra's house and reached Hajpore, where Chaitanya proclaimed the name of Hari, with dancing and singing, till midnight. Then a villager brought a small quantity of rice, ghee and vegetables. Bitter soup was prepared with the leaves of the *nim* tree and a quantity of *karela* was fried. From Hajipore Chaitanya went to Midnapore, where Kesava Sámana, a rich citizen, became his disciple. Thence he went to Naraingarh. The Raja of this place was a Sadgopa by caste. His family had held possession of a small territory worth three lakhs a year from the time of the Great Pála Kings of Bengal. The fort of Naraingarh, lying on the highway between Bengal and Orissa, was regarded as the key of the latter country. So even the Emperors of Delhi always tried to keep on good terms with the Raja. There is here a temple of Siva named Dhaneswar, who was the guardian deity of Naraingarh. Chaitanya paid his devotion to Siva and then began to proclaim the name of Hari. When the Kirtana was at its height, Chaitanya lost his senses and began to sing and dance in the wildest manner. Govinda says that blood exuded from the pores of his skin. People flocked round to see the spectacle, bringing large quantities of flour and balls of sweetmeat, which, as usual, at once attracted Govinda's attention, and of which he tells us he ate twenty. Chaitanya's proclamation produced a marvellous effect at Naraingarh ; and Bireswar Sen and Bhaváni Sankar became his disciples.

From Naraingarh the pilgrims went to Jaleswar, where Chaitanya worshipped the phallic emblem of Siva, named



Villesvara. The next day they crossed the Suvarnarekhá and proceeded to Hariharpur. This was a great emporium of trade in those days. A century later, the East India Company established their first Factory at this place (and not at Ppli, as is commonly believed). The next day they went to Báleswar, where there was a temple of Gopála a form of Vishnu. The next morning they reached Nilgarn, and on the following day they crossed the Vaitarani. After a hard day's journey they reached the Mahánadi, where they visited the temple of Gopináth, and, after eating the food consecrated to that deity, proceeded to pay their respects to Sákshi Gopál. The image of Gopál at this place is said to have borne witness in a case of theft in which a poor innocent Brahman was by mistake put into trouble. From that temple Chaitanya went to another dedicated to Ningráj, and thence to a place named Atháranálá (eighteen ditches), from which the pinnacle of the temple of Jagannáth at Puri is visible.

The outburst of Chaitanya's feeling at the sight of this celebrated place of Vishnu worship is described in glowing terms in the verses of Govinda. Weeping and wailing, Chaitanya repeatedly fell to the ground and wetted it with tears. He embraced every one who came in his way and asked every one to look at the image of Gopál engaged in dancing. Without stopping he entered into the temple of Jagannáth ; but, with his eyes dimmed with tears, he could not at first see the image. With a great effort he stopped the flow of tears, and, when he caught sight of it, he at once ran to it and took it on his knees. When leaving the Mandir, he leapt to the ground and grasped the pillar in front of the temple known as the Garud-stambha. His body was bruised in many places and blood exuded from the wounds. Dhyánapuri, a great Sanyási, wiped off the blood.

From the temple, Chaitanya went to the house of Kási Misra, where Chaitanya's followers joined him one by one. As long as he was at Puri, they used to hold Kirtana every day and at all hours. All his followers were busy in paying their devotion to him—some in preparing wreathes, others in mixing sandal paste, others in making ready the feast. Two men, Krishna-dás and Shyámdás, were constantly at the side of Chaitanya, who, from the intensity of his devotional feelings, was incapable of taking care of himself. He used to visit the temple every day ; but they never allowed him to go alone ; on the way he was surrounded by his followers. His principal work was the proclamation of the name of Hari, attended with music and dancing, and his principal recreation was the hearing of the Bhágavata.

A peculiar feature of Puri is that no caste distinction as ob-

served there as regards cooked food. The Suars, that is the Shavaras, a low aboriginal tribe, have the privilege of offering the first worship to Jagannáth, and they are his cooks. The cooked food offered to the deity is distributed according to rules and also sold in the Bazar. This cooked food can be carried from one place to another within the city and beyond it by any caste and for the use of any other caste. The proudest Brahman cannot refuse a mouthful of rice brought to him by a Chandála. This is, perhaps, the only place in Northern India where caste distinction does not hold good, and where the awful fast obligatory on all Hindu widows on the eleventh day of the moon is never observed. The glutton Govinda, as may be imagined, was in clover here. Kási Misra used to bring a vast quantity of prasáda, or consecrated food, every day. The savoury curries made Govinda's mouth water. The various kinds of fried grain, *i.e.*, fried rice, fried sesamum, fried linseed, fried barley, fried oats, fried mung ka-dal (kidney beans) and fried beans ; various fruits and roots, preparations of cocoanut, cakes of all sorts, numerous confectioneries and an immense assortment of delicacies were the portion allotted to him by Chaitanya with his own hand. For three months Govinda enjoyed his good fortune to his fill. At last on the seventh day of Vaishákha, of the year 1509 A. D., Chaitanya resolved upon proceeding on a pilgrimage to Southern India. His friends begged him to take a number of men with him ; but he preferred the company of one man only, and that was his favourite servant, Govinda.

It was on the 7th of Vaishákha, in the year 1509, that Chaitanya began his pilgrimage to Southern India. He was accompanied from Puri to Alalá Náth, a distance of about ten miles, by all his followers, who moved slowly in procession. The town of Alalá Náth is named after an image of Vishnu of that name. Chaitanya was greatly moved at the sight of this image and fell senseless with excess of emotion. He stayed at Alalá Náth for the night, and in the morning, accompanied by Govinda and Sárvvabhauma, continued his journey southwards. Sarvvabhauma does not seem to have accompanied them far, for we soon lose sight of him ; but Govinda does not say when he turned back. Before doing so, however, he advised Chaitanya to pay a visit to Rámánanda Ráy, the governor of the Godávári District, of the Orissa Kingdom. Rámánanda was a devoted follower of Hari, and, like Chaitanya, often fell into trances and shed copious tears at the mention of his name. He was a Káyastha by caste, a very rich man, surrounded with all the pomp and dignity of royalty. He came to bathe in the Godávári, and there Chaitanya met him at the ghát. Chaitanya stopped at Vidyánagar, the capital



of Rámánanda Ráy, for some time, and his conversation with Rámánanda, known as Rámánanda sambád, is regarded by the Vaisnabas as the best exposition of the doctrine of love and devotion taught by Chaitanya. All the deepest doctrines of Chaitanya's faith are to be found in it. It was arranged that, on Chaitanya's return to Puri, Rámánanda should join him there and pass the rest of his life in talking of love and devotion to Hari.

From Vidyánagara, Chaitanya journeyed to Trimanda. It has been suggested by Babu Dines Chandra Sen that the modern Trimallaghari, near Hyderabad, was ancient Trimalla. There were a very large number of Buddhist monks at the place, and they invited Chaitanya to a disputation. Chaitanya refuted all their arguments and they were put to shame. The Raja of Trimanda, who acted as an arbitrator, declared the Buddhists defeated, and Rámngiri Ráy, the head of the Buddhist church, became a pupil of Chaitanya.

Krishna Dás Kaviráj relates a story illustrative of the wickedness of the Buddhists. Worsted in disputation, they secretly devised a plan to insult, annoy and defile Chaitanya. They went into a lonely forest through which his road lay and there presented him with a metal plate of unclean food, representing it to be the remnants of broken victuals of Vishnu. At that moment, however, a gigantic bird, descending from heaven, swooped over it and, carrying it aloft, again dropped it on the head of one of the Buddhist teachers, which was cut by it. The Buddhist teacher fell senseless to the ground amidst the lamentations of his followers. They now besought Chaitanya to revive their Achárjya, and this he did by uttering the name of Hari in his ears. Krishna Dás represents these Buddhists as exceedingly learned; but he says that in spite of their learning, they should not be spoken to or looked upon because they are heterodox. Chaitanya condescended to hold a disputation with them, because he thought that their defeat would lead to the spread of his faith. How unpopular they were in those days may be gathered from the fact, stated by Krishna Dás, that the people jeered at them, and they were completely put out of countenance. Chaitanya, however, converted them to Vaisnavism and the great learning of Buddhist monks was now pressed into the service of that faith.

Dhundirám Tirtha, who hailed from the banks of the Tungabhadrá, was a great logician; his conceit knew no bounds. He had no conception of the doctrine of Bhakti. After the conversion of the Buddhists, Dhundirám came forward and challenged Chaitanya to a disputation. Chaitanya, with his characteristic meekness, gave out that he had already been defeated, and agreed to give him a written acknowledgment

of the fact. This completely changed Dhundirám ; and he fell at Chaitanya's feet and became his disciple. Chaitanya changed his name into Hari Dás, a name by which Dhundi subsequently became famous.

After all this, we are told, Chaitanya directed his steps towards Panthaguha. On his way he halted under a big banian tree, in the vicinity of a temple of Shiva who is named Bateshwar, after the tree. No food or drink was procurable there, and the pilgrims consequently had to pass the night without refreshment. In the morning Chaitanya went to the river for the purpose of bathing, and Govinda went to a distant village to beg for food. He returned at noon and Chaitanya cooked. Govinda says never were victuals more delicious than on that occasion. It was here that Chaitanya effected the conversion of a rich man named Tirtharám, who had come with two women of ill-fame, apparently to enjoy himself in that secluded place. After remaining seven days in Bateshwar, the pilgrims proceeded to Nandishwar, through a thick forest, extending over twenty miles and infested with ferocious animals and venomous serpents. It is related that, at the sight of the terrible forest, Govinda quailed with fear, and Chaitanya, seeing this, led the way, while Govinda followed behind. And so they passed through in safety and reached the city of Munná beyond it.

Chaitanya sat under the shade of a tree, outside the city, to rest himself ; and two citizens who happened to be passing supplied him with all he wanted. They wondered at the behaviour of this new Sannyási. In the evening the citizens came in large numbers, and, making their obeisance to Chaitanya, requested him to enter the city and put up comfortably under some hospitable roof. But Chaitanya was already feeling the divine presence in him, and he began to weep and repeat the name of Hari. He fell down insensible, and then, rising in a trance, began to dance and sing in the name of Hari. At midnight the women of the city came to see him. The elderly ladies greatly sympathised with him, and, being struck with pity at his condition, requested him to stay a while at Munná ; but he declined.

From Munná, Chaitanya proceeded southward. He was accompanied for several miles by a large number of citizens ; but one by one they returned to their homes, with the exception of one man, Rámánandaswámi, who refused to leave him, and insisted on becoming his disciple.

Chaitanya arrived at the city of Vencata at about noon, and was at once challenged by a Vedantist pundit to a disputation. According to his usual custom, he declared that he had already been worsted, and was prepared to write out a certificate to



that effect ; but the pundit insisted on having a disputation, with the result that Chaitanya refuted all his arguments, and the Vedantist, whose name was also Rámánanda, became his disciple. Chaitanya sojourned for three days at Vencata ; and it is narrated that his influence was felt by men, women and children alike. The most hardened sinners were special objects of his commiseration, and many were led to change their lives by his example and preaching. Having heard at Munná that there was a highway robber, named Pantha Bhil, at Bagula, who was a terror to the neighbourhood, Chaitanya, in spite of every attempt to dissuade him from going to Bagula, went there, and, becoming a guest of Pantha Bhil, lived for three days and nights with him. He said to Pantha : Happy are you in having no wife, no children, and nothing to attract you to the world. Though living as a householder, you are more than a mendicant, because you are attached to nothing. You are the greatest of sages, and it is a privilege to live with you. Thus humouring his self-love, Chaitanya set himself to convert this noted dacoit, and he was eminently successful. Pantha Bhil renounced the world, clothed himself in rags and became a great Vaisnab leader ; and all his old associates joined him in his new walk of life.

Leaving Pantha Bhil a changed man, Chaitanya continued his journey southward. For three days and nights he had taken neither food nor rest ; but on the fourth day a small quantity of flour and milk were given by women at a spot where Chaitanya was lying naked and senseless in Govinda's arms. The flour was mixed with the milk and given to Chaitanya to eat. This revived him to a certain extent, and he walked to Girishwara which was six miles away.

The temple of Girishwara is believed to have been built by Vishwakarma, the divine architect. It was surrounded on three sides by mountains, and on the southern side there was a bel tree, the branches of which are said to have covered a space of half a mile. Chaitanya plucked the leaves of the bel tree and offered them with his own hand to Siva. The devotional trance was again upon him, and two days were passed in this condition. On the third day a mendicant with matted hair came down from the mountain peak, worshipped Siva, and went away without speaking a word, and Chaitanya followed him accompanied by Govinda. The mendicant was found sitting under a tree, wrapped in meditation so deep that Chaitanya's presence made no impression upon him. Then Chaitanya began to chant a hymn in praise of the Sannyási, who at last opened his eyes and laughed. Chaitanya sat by the side of the Sannyási who gave him six fruits named *parotá* to eat. Four of these fell to Govinda's share, but Govinda could not eat before

Chaitanya, who consequently ate a bit. Thereupon Govinda at once despatched his four fruits and began to look wistfully on Chaitanya's two. Chaitanya offered them to him. But the celebrated story of Ramayana, so well known to every Hindú child, occurring to Govinda at the time, staggered him. The story is that Hanumán was given a few mango fruits which then grew only in the garden of Rávana, by Sitá, one of which was destined for Ráma. But, while returning from Lanká, Hanuman was so delighted with the taste of the fruit that he ate even the one given him for Ráma. This was the most heinous sin for a worshipper (as Hanumán was) of Ráma, and the consequence was that the stone stuck in his throat. Govinda was apprehensive of a similar fate, and so he hesitated. But Chaitanya quieted the qualms of his conscience by assuring him that the fruit was freely given, and so Govinda ate them. When Chaitanya recovered from his trance, the mendicant declared him to be the God ; but he repudiated the idea in strong terms.

At Tirupati, Chaitanya saw the image of Ráma. There were many Vaisnavas of the Rámát denomination in the city ; and all of them were ambitious to display their skill in disputation, especially Mathurá, their chief. But Chaitanya declined their challenge, and, intimating his readiness to sign a certificate of defeat, implored the Rámát pundit not to indulge in fruitless argumentation, but to teach people the doctrine of devotion and the subtle truths of life and creation. While thus exhorting Mathurá, Chaitanya fell into a trance. Unaccustomed to such sights, the Ramats wondered at it and implored him to show them mercy. Mathurá, especially, was very deeply impressed and followed Chaitanya a long distance.

The pilgrims next proceeded to Panawar where there is an image of Nrisinha Deva, the man-lion, in praise of whom Chaitanya chanted a hymn.

They then came to Vishnu Kanchi, where there was a banker, Bhababhuti by name, who was a devoted worshipper of Vishnu. His wife used to cleanse the large temple of Lakshmi-Náráyana with her own hands, and he used to offer the deity daily two maunds of condensed milk. After offering his devotion to Lakshmi-Náráyana, Chaitanya proceeded to a temple of Siva, named Trikálaishwara, twelve miles away. From this temple was visible a peak named Pakshagiri, at the foot of which flowed a beautiful stream named Bhadrá Nadi. In that stream there is a holy bathing place named Paksha-Tirtha, where Chaitanya bathed and ate of the fruit named *champi*. Govinda relates that, while the pilgrims were lying under a tree here at night, they were attacked by a tiger. But, on Chaitanya uttering the name of Hari, the beast slunk away like a dog.



There was a temple of Baráha, or the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu, at Kálatirtha, ten miles from the river Bhadrá. Chaitanya was delighted at the sight of the image, which is described as being of exquisite workmanship, and at the distinction conferred on him by the priests, who presented him with a garland of flowers. Ten miles south of this spot is the confluence of the Nandá and the Bhadrá, a sacred place for Hindús of all denominations. Sadánandaswámi, a Vedantist mendicant, was the abbot of the place ; but Chaitanya is said to have converted him to his own faith.

Thence he proceeded to Chainpalli, the people of which are spoken of as men of pure conduct, and where there were two female ascetics engaged in meditation, one under a bel tree, the other on the banks of a river ; one of whom was said to be over hundred years old.

From Chainpalli, Gouránga proceeded to the banks of the Káveri, where he bathed and prepared his *chápátis* with flour begged from a village by Govinda. In the village, which was called Nagara, there was a temple dedicated to Ráma and Lakshmana. Chaitanya made his obeisance to them and began to proclaim the name of Hari. Here a hostile Bráhman came, with a number of his comrades, and attempted to drive Chaitanya away, abusing him as a hypocrite and charlatan who had come to ruin the pupils and lead them to hell in the name of religion. This man went so far as to assault Chaitanya, who, however, made light of his fury, exhorting him all the time to proclaim the name of Hari. "Beat me," said he, "but proclaim the name of Hari." He then preached a long sermon to the Brahman, at the end of which, we are told, the people became so affected that they began to dance enthusiastically and to proclaim the name of Hari ; and the Brahman also caught the prevailing enthusiasm, and, joining the party, became in a short time a devoted follower of Chaitanya.

From Nagara, Chaitanya journeyed to Tanjore, which was fourteen miles off. Here Chaitanya became the guest of a Brahman, named Dhaleswar, who worshipped the images of Rádhá and Krishna in his house. In front of the temple of Rádhá and Krishna was a large bakula tree, to the left of which was a phallic emblem of Siva, named Gosamáj, to which Chaitanya paid homage. There was a beautiful lake close by, which was believed to have been formed of the skull of the gigantic Rákshasa, Kumbhakarna, the brother of Rávana, and near the lake was a picturesque hill named Chandalu. In this hill were numerous caves which were the homes of a large number of mendicants, all constantly engaged in devotion, with their eyes closed and their bodies covered with ashes.

Here there was a Brahman, with the surname Bhatta, who,

after seeing Chaitanya, and hearing his Kirtan, took him to his house and gave up everything to him. They were kindred spirits and soon became ardent admirers of one another, the Brahman regarding Chaitanya as his preceptor and serving him as a devoted menial, and Chaitanya regarding him as his favourite disciple.

From Tanjore, Chaitanya proceeded to the kingdom ruled by Jaisinha, about the charming scenery of which Govinda is enthusiastic. There, under the shade of large trees by the side of mountain streams, were a number of pious mendicants, engaged in devotional exercises, who never left their places and were supplied with all the necessaries of life by the people of the neighbouring villages. The head of these mendicants was Sureswara, in whom Chaitanya, who staid there many days, found a kindred spirit.

Leaving the territories of Jaisinha, the pilgrims arrived at Padmakota (Podducotta), with its famous image of Durgá with eight hands. There Chaitanya preached to the citizens, and Govinda says that on one occasion the eight-handed image of Durga seemed to rock with emotion at his [preaching. A shower of flowers fell from heaven and the fragrance of the lotus filled the air. There was a blind man in the city who came to Chaitanya and asked him to cure his blindness. Chaitanya argued with him that he was simply an ordinary man and made no pretention to working miracles; but the blind man told him that he was a devoted servant of Durgá; that she had told him in a dream that Chaitanya was an incarnation of Vishnu and would cure his blindness. "The eyes are required," said the blind man, "because I ardently desire to see the incarnation of Vishnu, who has favoured the sinful world with his presence." Chaitanya still argued with him, but at last, overcome by the sincerity of his devotion, he embraced him. The blind man opened his eyes; beheld the noble features of Chaitanya; made his obeisance, and dropped down dead, and Chaitanya began to proclaim the name of Hari with the wildest fervour.

( *To be continued.* )

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## ART. VIII.—PUBLIC WORSHIP.

### (INDEPENDENT SECTION.)

“Dixit Naaman :—

“ ‘ Si adoraverō in templo Remmon, ut ignoscat mihi Dominus pro hac re.’

“ ‘ Et dixit ei ; Vade in pace.’ ”

IV. Reg. v-18.

**W**HEN Elisha made his latitudinarian concession to the favourite of the king of Syria, he displayed a spirit of clerical solidarity hardly to have been looked for at the hands of one formed in the school of the deceased Tishbite. Had that uncompromising champion of orthodoxy been consulted, he would doubtless have informed Naaman that it would be his duty, immediately on getting home, to set the temple on fire and put all the priests to death. A few years had made a great advance on the path of toleration in Israel.

A similar change may be observed in progress amongst modern Englishmen. Samaria has become indulgent to Damascus and friendly to Jerusalem, although neither of those churches will acknowledge Samaritan orders ; and the Bishop of Salisbury at Nottingham showed an amiable face to our own Non-conformists, which those austere Philistines may, perhaps, not be prepared to reciprocate. But of one thing there seems but little hope, namely the conciliation of the Believer with the Agnostic. Will the Believer cease to call the Agnostic bad names ; and, until then, will the Agnostic be right in going to church, or chapel, and putting his money into the offertory-plate ; or ought he to refrain for ever from sharing in those means of grace ?

To this question it may be confidently answered that the fact of a man abstaining from dogmatism does not deprive him of his status as a citizen ; and that every citizen ought to comply with all the fashions and practices of his city in all things indifferent, even should they involve personal inconvenience to himself. If the Agnostic belong to a Catholic Society, he ought to go to Mass, even if he dislikes the pomp and splendour of the ceremonies, the unknown tongue of the liturgy, or whatever else ; so, the Anglican may object to the sacerdotal element in the Prayer-book, or to its “ vain repetitions,” but he can go to church with a good conscience and put himself into a wholesome frame of mind by extending sympathy to the rest of the congregation ; while the Non-conformist, wearied with the long extemporaneous prayers and preaching, can recollect that :—

“ God takes the book and preaches patience.”

For Agnostics are not Atheists, let the Orthodox say what they please. Most of them will admit that, in renouncing the right of defining Deity, they equally deprive themselves of all power of denial : they are disciples of Spinoza and Spencer, not of Democritus and Holbach : they may even go further and allow that a revelation of God's nature and relations to man—if such there be—must be the result of inspiration. For they know that such could not be due to human science working through verifying experiment. The Kingdom of Heaven cometh not by observation.

For evidence of the soundness of these simple propositions, we have no occasion to go further than the most rudimentary facts. If men are to live in social intercourse at all, there must be a convention that, on matters not pertaining to that relation, controversy must be avoided. If every vegetarian, tonic-sol-faite, anti-vaccinationist, or other person whose views were opposed to those of the majority were to insist on aggressive polemics in favour of their respective heresies, the world would soon become such a scene of tumult that society would cease to exist. By conspicuously abstaining from the religious assemblies of his neighbours, the Agnostic is but too likely to render himself conspicuous and, perhaps, provoke enquiries which he would find it hard to evade, and troublesome to answer. If, indeed, he be one of those gifted monomaniacs who are conscious of a mission, if he can make certain of exercising the influence of a Buddha, a Mahomet, or a Luther, then the question will be transferred to another ground ; and it may become his duty to proclaim his opinions at any sacrifice.

But the ordinary citizen is not a chosen vessel of this kind : his vocation is—Peace. Let him be content to pursue the *fallentis semita vitæ*, and to affect those around him with a spirit of uncontentious freedom. The apparent universality of the law of causation compels him to see that material science can only classify material phenomena, but can never account for their production. Light, Language, Liberty, even life itself—and the list comprises almost all our treasures—are things that cannot be thought of as arising of themselves. The metaphysical basis thus postulated is quite beyond the scope of our faculties, but it is implied in all of which they can take cognizance, including the faculties themselves. This was the god preached of old at Athens ; whether defined by theologians or ignorantly worshipped, all of us raise some sort of altar to the unknown.

In the meanwhile an honest endeavour might, perhaps, be made by our spiritual pastors and masters to make their services more attractive to the candid Agnostic, anxious to con-



form to the usages of his time and place. To take the case most familiar to most of us, the Anglican ritual might be put on a more reasonable, and—with reverence be it said—a less tedious, footing. Setting aside exceptional cases, what a dull thing is the ordinary Sunday service in a parish church ! First, we have the “Morning Prayer,” or the “Evening Prayer,” as the case may be: of the latter few will complain: but the former is preposterously lengthened, first by the litany, and next by the first part of the communion. “In the course of these, the Lord’s Prayer is repeated three times; the Queen is twice prayed for; supplication is made that the Magistrates may ‘maintain truth,’ which savours of the long-extinct theories of uniformity and persecution; readings or chantings are made from Coverdale’s incorrect and obsolete *Psalter*; and the ten commandments of the Jews are rehearsed with solemn supplications. This last section is peculiarly insincere; the Decalogue contains some elements which are now quite superfluous; no one is tempted to make or worship idols, although, if the first clause of the second commandment were obeyed, there might be less offence to good taste in the streets of our large towns and other places where modern sculpture is exhibited. As to the fourth, surely few of us ever think of not doing any manner of work on Saturdays; while, on the other hand, some of our most favourite sins and pleasant vices are not provided against. It is curious that this portion of the Church-service was objected to nearly two and-a-half centuries ago by the wise and earnest Chillingworth. Lastly, this portion of the wearisome affair concludes with a sermon, in which a man, no wiser—it may be—than ourselves, and often shy and fatigued, gives a perfunctory essay on some passage of the old tracts and records bound up by the traditions of past times in the boards of “The Bible.” To make preaching really effective, it ought, of course, to be entrusted only to licensed clergymen of approved experience and ability. In this respect, at least, Canterbury might learn from Rome.

But Anglicans and Catholics form but a part—less than half, it is believed—of the population of the British Islands; and it is when we turn to the Chapels and Meeting-houses of the various Non-conformist bodies that we must expect to find the most difficulty. If the prayers of the Anglican Liturgy are too long and tautologic, if the sermons are often a source of irritation or somnolence, what must be the effect, on cultivated and independent minds, of the improvised praying and preaching of the average Dissenting Minister?

Thus, there is a word to be said for the Agnostic, even if he may be blamed in a general way, for neglecting the social aspect of religion. There is no reason why he should not make

for himself a secret shrine with two mules' burden of earth from the holy land of sincerity, and yet bow down in attendance on King Demos in the House of Rimmon. But, perhaps, if the Prophet had known all, there may have been some things among the Rimmonites which might, with advantage, have been reformed.

In using the word "sincerity" there is no intention to impute any personal defect in that matter to the office-bearers of any denomination. Human they are, partaking of human temptations, among which we must expect to find conventionality, timidity, and vested interests. Due allowance being made for these, it will be the experience of most of us that these men are often unselfish and devoted labourers in the fields of the great Harvest. Nevertheless, such defects as have been noticed here must be active agents in promoting a tendency to routine and cant. If, in the effort to redeem the Agnostic by making the service of the churches a little more pleasant for him, our religious observances could be brought a little more up to date, a wholesome element of genuine earnestness would be introduced which might not be wholly devoid of benefit even to the most orthodox believer. He might, just at first, miss that blessed word Mesopotamia; his wife would, almost certainly. But both of them ought to find their compensation in the increased attendance on the means of grace of young and eager manhood, now too much estranged.\*

H. G. KEENE.

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\* The writer is acquainted with a church in one of the London suburbs in which this has actually occurred in recent years, the place being proprietary and the minister his own master.



## ART. IX.—VEDIC INDIA.

THE people who, descending from the north, drove the aboriginal races of India into the deserts and mountain recesses, or reduced them to bondage, called themselves *Arya*,

that is, 'the noble,' 'the honourable,' or 'the ruling,' in contradistinction to *Anarya*, the "ignoble," or servile." They are so styled in their venerable hymnal—the Rig Veda—the oldest existing monument of their language and poetry, as well as of their early settlement in the Punjab. The immigration of the Aryas into the plains of the Punjab took place from the west. They bear the closest resemblance to the inhabitants of the table-land of Irán, and their language has an intimate connexion with that of the Avesta, the religious books of Irán. It bears a close analogy to the language of the monuments of Darius and Xerxes in the western half of Persia. In the Parsi scriptures we find the same race styled *Airya*. The ancient Persian tablets lately deciphered call it *Ariya* and the Scythian tablets *Arriya*. The very name *Airan*, or *Irán*, by which Persia is called by the natives has obviously its origin in *Ariana* or *Airyana*, derived from *Aria* or *Airya*, the name of the tribe, the common ancestors alike of the fire-worshippers of Irán and the Brahma worshippers of Indra. The Greeks call the tribe *Ariori*, which is connected with the root *ari* (Latin *Arare*, to plough), signifying that the primitive people were tillers of the earth, as distinguished from the nomadic Turanians. Traces of this root are to be met with in many Aryan countries, from *Eran* (*Irán*, or Persia) to *Erin* or Ireland. The agreement of the authorities as to the origin of the word *Arya* is remarkable, and this, coupled with the common origin of words used in daily family life in European and Indian languages, points unmistakeably to the common origin and genealogical relationship of the nations who speak them, separated though they may be by long distances.

Just as, in the kindred science which treats of the structure and mineral constitution of the globe, a geologist describes the different strata which compose the crust of the globe, their order of succession, the characteristic forms of their animal and vegetable life, the causes of the earth's physical features and its history, so comparative philology, by a process of reasoning analogous to that followed in the sister science, enables the ethnologist to spell out the records of the past and

obtain a glimpse into the thick clouds which overhang the dawn of ages. The finger of Nature herself has written on the rock-tablets of the earth's strata what changes it has undergone from a time even before man was created. Languages serve for ethnologists the same purpose which the earth's strata serve for geologists, and it has been rightly observed that dead languages are to the latter like fossils and petrifications.

Words current in a language may, further, be most appropriately compared to coins current in daily life. Just as coins enable the antiquarian, from the impression of Sovereigns' heads and other marks and inscriptions on them, to trace many forgotten landmarks in ancient history, so words spoken

Common origin of by people enable linguists, from their words spoken in different affinities and the resemblances of their languages. roots and derivations, to prove the common origin of nations now far severed and disunited. The resemblance is most striking in the words used to denote near blood relationship, the deity, and articles of daily use. Thus, father, in English, is *fádar* in Anglo-Saxon, *fader* in Danish, *fader* in Goth, *vader* in Dutch, *fatar* in Germany, *vater* in North Germany, *pater* in Latin, *pádar* in Persian, and *pita* in Sanskrit. The English word mother is represented by the old English *moder*, old Saxon *mödar*, German *moder*, Dutch *moedar*, Latin *máter*, Russian *maty*, Irish *mathair*, French *mere*, Persian *mádar*, Sanskrit *mátá*. Nearly the same is the case with the names for brother, sister and the like. The English word 'widow,' used to denote a woman who has lost her husband by death and has not taken another, is derived from the Sanskrit word *Vidhava*, from *vi*, meaning without and *dháwá*, husband, namely, one bereaved of a husband. It is in Latin *vidua*, in Prussian *widdewa*, in Goth *viduvo* and in Germany *wedewe*. The English word daughter owes its origin to the Sanskrit word *duhitri*, derived from the root *duh*, milk, meaning little milk-maid, that being the special part assigned to a daughter in the domestic economy of the primitive Aryans. It is the Anglo-Saxon *dohtor*, *dohter*, old Saxon *dohtar*, Dutch *Dogter*, *dochter*, Swedish *dolter*, Danish *dolter*, *dalter*, Goth *dauhtar* and German *dochter*, all closely resembling one another. The English word sew, which, as a transitive verb, means to unite or fasten together by stitches, is in Anglo-Saxon *siowian* and *siwian*, in old high German *siuwan*, in Icelandic *syju*, Swedish, *sy*, Danish *sy*, Goth *siujan*, Russian *shite*, Latin *suere*, Sanskrit *siv* and Urdu *sina*, words all closely resembling one another. Mouth, in English, is *mun* in Swedish, and *munh* in Urdu. *Raja*, a Hindi word meaning prince, or king, is akin to the Latin *rex* a King. The word deity, meaning God or Supreme Being,



is derived from the Sanskrit root *Div*, to shine ; hence the Bright one, the Indian *Deva*, the Latin *Deus*, or Divinity, and the French *divin*. It is the *Zeus* of the Greeks, the *Tiu* of the Saxons and the *Zio* of the Germans. The Persian word *badnam* means exactly the same thing as the English 'bad name,' the Persian *bad* being equivalent to the English *bad*, and what is *nám* in one language being *name* in the other. Cow, the object of great reverence to the orthodox Hindú from the earliest ages, is *gow* in Sanskrit, *gáo* in Persian, *kuo* in Germany, and *beva* in Latin. Moon in English is *máh* in Persian and *mas* in Sanskrit. In all the languages of Europe the name is almost identical.

There are common terms for house, yard, garden, city and citadel ; common words for cattle, horses, birds, sheep, goats, mice, ducks, geese, dogs and cats ; common roots for corn, fruit, wool, flax or hemp ; for metals, such as iron, copper, &c. ; for weaving, grinding and ploughing ; for tools and weapons ; for waggons and boats, and the division of time according to days, months and years. Words are our common possession and, heritage. The similarity of words used in daily life in languages spoken by nations so remotely situated from each other, indicates, without doubt, that at some very remote period of antiquity those nations belonged to one common stock, and that of Indo-European or Indo-German origin. The Brahman, the Jat, the Rajput and the Englishman alike have descended from that stock. They lived in one region, spoke the same tongue and worshipped the same gods. All belong to one noble race, the Arya, whose primitive seat, according

to the concurrent testimony afforded by linguistic monuments, was in Central Asia,\* east of the Caspian and north of

the Hindukush, the Paropamisus of the ancients. The region is pointed out as the earliest centre of civilised life. The traces of Sanskrit in European languages are proof, again, that the great migration took place from Central Asia, the home of Vedic Sanskrit ; for, if the exodus had taken place from Europe to Asia, or, as observed by Professor Max Müller, from Scandinavia, " we should naturally look in the common Aryan language for a number of words connected with maritime life." But we have no such words. There is no general name for fish in Sanskrit, nor for any particular fish ; nor even is there a common name for the sea. From that earliest home (Central Asia), the common camping ground visible to history, in obedience to

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\*According to Professor Max Müller, " we have two streams of language, one tending south-east to India, and the other north-west to Europe. The point where these two streams naturally intersect, points to Asia."

the law of movement which has operated in all periods of the world's history, certain branches of the mother nations migrated to the east; others to the west. The migration, as is evidenced from the Vedas, the earliest records of Hindu language and literature, continued for generations, and the opposite routes they adopted formed the two great ethnological divisions of mankind geographically separated from each other,

the one called the Eastern and the other the Western. After the two branches once separated, they never met again.

They disperse to the east and the west. The Eastern branch comprehends the inhabitants of Armenia, Persia, Afghanistan and Northern India; and the Western offshoot, the inhabitants of Europe, with the exception of Turkey, Hungary and Lapland. One branch of the former traversed the heights of Armenia; another penetrated into the table-land of Asia Minor; one offshoot, which worshipped the Asuras, laid the foundations of the ancient Persian monarchy and became the Medes of history, while powerful bands made their way to the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges; they worshipped the Devas and became there the forefathers of the Brahmans and the Rajputs of to-day.

Countries settled. Some of the offshoots of the tribes who proceeded to the West, occupied the plains above the Black Sea, others, settling in Greece, built Athens, while a distant colony took its seat in Italy and reared up the city on the Seven Hills which developed itself into Imperial Rome. The nations who settled in Northern and Central Europe were called the Teutonic peoples. The streams that took the route by the north of the Caspian were called the Slavonic nations. Swarms of the same branch made their way to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, penetrated into the western coast of the Spanish Peninsula, spread themselves into Britain, Ireland and Scandinavia and advanced as far as the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic Ocean. These came to be called the Celtic nations.

Under what circumstances these Aryans left their primitive home is, and will ever remain, in the dark. Beyond their existence and locality before separation, nothing can be affirmed with any degree of certainty, though ethnologists have made an attempt at drawing a picture of the Aryan life and home before they divided. That a sweeping exodus did take place from Central Asia in remote antiquity, is rendered highly probable by the occurrence of ethnic waves in later times from the same camping-ground, Asia. This we see evidenced by the migration of the Huns in the fourth, and the Mongols in the thirteenth, century in boundless numbers like the locusts.

With respect to the similarity of certain words spoken by



nations of the west and east, it must be admitted that, beyond glimpses into the state of their social organisation, nothing can be inferred from the groups of words common to them, nevertheless these objects of common heritage give a fair idea of the state of thought, language, religion and civilisation of the ancient Aryans. Besides the blood relations, father, mother, brother, sister, daughter, they had the conventional relationships of father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law and sister-in-law. The father was looked upon as the head and protector of the family, while the mother nourished young children and looked after domestic duties. She was the mistress of the house. The daughter milked the cow and took care of cattle.

The Aryans domesticated many useful animals. The ox, the cow, the bull, the goat, the sheep, the horse, the dog, the cat, the swine, had all been domesticated. The beasts of the forests, the wolf, the jackal, the bear, the hare, the dreaded serpent and the birds of prey, the feathered game, the quail, the crane, the pigeon, the duck, the goose, the raven, the cuckoo, and other kinds were familiar to the Aryans. The industrial arts were still in a state of infancy; but a commencement had been already made.

Gold and silver ornaments were known, and, with the simplicity peculiar to primitive men, they called gold yellow and silver white. So, gold and silver. The females adorned their person with jewels of a rude kind.

The ancient Aryans reared cattle and led a pastoral life, roaming over grassy plains and verdant steppes in quest of habitations and fodder for their herds. The ox and the cow constituted their chief riches. The patriarchs of families roamed about in search of pastures and reared cattle. Pûshan was the god of shepherds, viewed by them as the sun and credited with protecting their life and property in their travels and wanderings over the country in quest of fresh pasture-lands. He rides on a chariot drawn by goats, protects men and beasts, and guides people in their journeys. He has thorough knowledge of the flocks and herds and gives light to the shepherds from above. But, though the primitive races led a nomad life, there is more frequent reference in the Rig Veda to agriculture than to pasture. They tilled land for agriculture and were familiar with the use of the plough and the implements of husbandry. It was probably on this account that they were called Arya, which also

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means cultivator. Allusion is made to 'the fastening of the ploughs,' 'the spreading out of the yokes,' the use of 'scythes in fields when the corn is ripe,' and the 'stacking of corn' in the fields, processes in vogue in agriculture to the present day.

The primitive arts were well known to the Aryans.

Arts known to them. They were acquainted with the use of metals, raised grain and ground it into meal, ate cooked food, knew the art of spinning, weaving, and sewing, and wore garments of woollen fabrics, furs, skins and coarse cloth. Women were for the most part employed in the work of weaving. One Rishi is described in the Rig Veda as lamenting his want of knowledge of religious rites, thus : " I know not the warp and I know not the woof of religious rites." IV, 9, 2.

In the eleventh chapter it is stated allegorically, with reference to worship:—" That victim who was woven with threads on every side and stretched by the labours of a hundred and one gods ; the fathers who wove and framed and set the warp and woof, do worship." These and other passages prove that the art of weaving was known among the Aryans from the earliest times. They knew also the art of bleaching the wool of sheep and how to weave it, X, 26, 6.

They built houses and lived in villages (gramas) and towns. The numerals were known to them as far as one hundred. They built roads and constructed boats for communication and petty trade. Carpentry was known, and dyeing with colours was common.

There were barbers in every village, as there are now. So there were ironsmiths and carpenters who made chariots of different sizes and value. Mention exists in the Rig Veda of the work done by ironsmiths and goldsmiths, and the names are given of golden jewels and iron utensils and implements of war. For instance, mention is made of armour and gold helmets, and of armour for the shoulders and arms. The javelin is compared in brilliancy with lightning. Glowing mention is made of swords, spear,

War. battle axes (*Bashi*), bow, quivers and arrows. The art of war was, of course, in its infancy, and the weapons used in primitive times were of bone, stone, wood and metal.

War chariots and kettle-drums are mentioned in connection with warfare. The warriors wore War Chariots. 'golden breast-plates.' Horses are mentioned with 'golden caparisons' used by princes and commanders of troops. Among golden ornaments mention is



Ornaments. made of *niksha*, a jewel worn on the neck, *sraṅ* a kind of necklace, anklets, rings or chains worn on the feet (*pāṇi*), and crowns for the head of different shapes and sizes.

A form of Government existed and there were patriarchs of tribes, and tribal heads and leaders of communities, who directed the actions of sections of the people belonging to certain tracts of the country, or distinguished from the rest for certain peculiarities. Such leaders, or heads, were called the shining Chiefs, or Rajas.

Form of Government. Professor Max Müller, in his excellent essay on Comparative Mythology, observes that, while words connected with peaceful occupations are common not only in Greek and Latin, but in all Aryan languages, they differ widely in denoting warlike expressions. From this he concludes that the Aryan races had a long life of peace before separation, and that it was not until after they migrated from their mother-country in quest of new homes that new dialects connected with warlike and adventurous life sprung up. The great scholar Niebuhr expressed the same view. It is for a similar reason that domesticated animals have the same names in England and India, while wild beasts are known by different names even in Greek and Latin.

Being fresh from a cold country, the Aryans were of fair complexion. The recollections of cold and snow peculiar to their mother-country were highly pleasing to their imaginations, and in their prayers to the gods they solicited no greater boon than one hundred winters. One of their great gods was the Indus, which they called *Sindhu* in the Vedas. They prayed to it for the increase of their cattle and the fertility of their lands. "May Sindhu, the renowned bestower of wealth, hear us and fertilize our broad fields with water," such was the invocation of the old Aryans to the river deity. The Vedic hymns are loud in praises of Aryan heroes who drove the aboriginal tribes to the south, or to the recesses of the Himalayan mountains. Some of the Gauda-Dravidians offered a determined resistance to the Brahminical tribes descending from the north and were able to maintain their ground against the successive waves of their invasion. Others, who were unable to resist successfully their northern foes, submitted to them, and became servile, or emigrated southwards. There is, however, evidence to show that the vanquished Dravidians did not at once adopt the superior civilization of their conquerors; for linguists have found obvious differences between synthetic Sanskrit and concrete Dravidian, the construction

The Aryans on their way to the land of migration. They fail to impress the aboriginal tribes with their superior civilisation.

of words in the former language being clearly distinguishable from those of Aryanised languages such as Mahratti, Bengali, &c.

In the Bible, the first book of Kings, X, 22, we read : " For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram ; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks." The Hebrew word for peacock used in the Bible is *Tukkiyyim*, derived from the Dravidian word *Toka*, *Tokai*, or *Togai*, signifying peacock's tail, or peacock. The word for peacock in Tamil, Telugu, Gondu, Malayalam, Kanarese, &c., all aboriginal tribes, is similar, and this shows that, as early as the time when the sailors of Solomon and Hiram sailed to the Indian coasts to buy commodities, Gauda-Dravidian words were used and that no Aryan names were given to them. Sandalwood, called *valgû* in different places in the Bible, is another Indian commodity known to the ancients ; and the word seems to be a derivation of *Almuggin*, or *Algummin*, Sanskrit words. Rice, produced in India in great quantity, was, in old times, presumably, exported to Greece from India ; for the Greek word *oryza*, meaning rice, is identified by scholars with the Tamil word *arisi*, signifying rice deprived of the husk, it being in this state that the rice was exported. Rice cakes in Telugu are called *ariselû*. The Sanskrit word for rice, *vrihi*, has no analogy to the Greek word *oryza* or the Dravidian word *arisi*. Hence it is clear that, in the remotest antiquity, when Indian commodities were exported to foreign countries by sea, Aryan civilisation had either obtained no footing at all in the country invaded, or the invaders had failed to adopt it to the condition of the people subdued by them.

It has been shown that the Aryans who, having left the plateau of Central Asia, dispersed to the east and west, possessed a civilisation not inferior to that of the people they reduced to subjection, and that this hypothesis held good so far at least as India was concerned. The branch of them who colonised Greece excelled, in the art of architecture, the Semites, or the Turanians, in any part of the world. Some have supposed that the Greek conquest of India left a Greek mark on Indian architecture and sculpture. That this theory does not hold good, is evidenced by the fact that sculptures have been found in Kashmere and other parts of the Panjab bearing no marks of Greek influence of a period antecedent to the time of Buddha. Even the pillars of Asoka exhibit no such



marks, and are perfectly independent of the Greek art of five centuries B. C. From the top to the base their design, whether of ornamentation or of general adaptibility, is purely original, showing an entire absence of foreign taste or style, and the only reasonable conclusion to be drawn from this is that, centuries before the time of Asoka, the art of architecture and sculpture, which go hand in hand, must have been brought to perfection in India, and that by no foreign agency except that of the Aryan settlers of the country. Many of the pillars of Asoka exhibit considerable taste in the dressing of stone, and are surmounted by capitals of exquisite beauty and elegance. Their very existence in such a state of perfection about a century before the Macedonian conquest of the Panjab, is proof that the art flourished several centuries before it. There is nothing in them of Doric, Ionic or Corinthian origin and design. It may, therefore, be fairly assumed that the Aryans of India were a building race. Mr. Sherring thinks it probable that the Aryans of India, who had intercourse with the people of the west as far as Egypt, must have heard of the vast structures which adorn that country, their gorgeous and splendid palaces, pillars, and other monuments, and, as they were not wanting in genius and taste for architecture, they imitated the Assyrian monarchs in adorning their cities with palaces and other edifices.\* Certain it is that a taste for architecture seems inherent in the ancient Aryans; for the periodical rains of India, and the extremes of heat and cold at particular seasons of the year, render the erection of edifices a matter, not of mere show, or luxury, but of necessity, for kings, governors and men of high social position.

Specimens of architecture of a date older than Asoka (257 B. C.) have been found in many parts of India. The caves of Udayágiri have been found to belong to the period of the Nanda kings, before the time of Alexander's invasion, and, according to General Cunningham, the stone walls of old Raja Griha or Kusagárápura, the capital of Bimbisara, the contemporary of Buddha, as well as the Baithak, or throne, of Jarasandhu, and the Baibhar, or Asura and Sonbhandár caves, all belong to the Aryan period and date back as early as 500 B. C. The stones of the throne of Jarasandhu are not dressed; but great care and ingenuity are displayed in their putting together, and the stability and solidity of the structures is such that, although twenty-four centuries have elapsed, they are still in a perfectly sound condition. The caves of Khundagiri and

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\* Sherring's Sacred City of the Hindus.

Behar and the bas-reliefs of Sanchi are other instances of Aryan working in stone. They bear no marks of Egyptian, Greek, Assyrian or Persian design or origin.

The hymns of the Rig Veda, the oldest monument of Aryan chivalry, make frequent mention of cities (*pura*) as distinct from villages, (*grama*) and mention is made of kings who owned a 'hundred cities.' The Asuras are described as owning spacious iron 'walled cities.' Both Agni and Indra are credited with having destroyed the cities of the Asuras. The cities of Sambara are described as comprising 'stone,' and as being 'plastered,' indicating that lime or mortar was freely used to render the stones adhesive and to turn the structure into one compact and solid mass of building.

The ancient history of the Hindus cannot be traced from records on paper, or inscriptions on stone, or writing on papyrus or leaves; but that history was inscribed for centuries on the tablets of the brains of the people, and from generation to generation descended from father to son, from a religious preceptor or master to his disciple and pupil, as a sacred inheritance. The Vedic period was a period of war, of valour, and of enterprise. The Aryas who, descending from the north, settled the north-western plains of India, observed

no distinction of caste or creed. Any distinction which existed was between the Aryan comers and the aborigines.

There were no temples or shrines, and worship was made and sacrifices offered in open spaces.

The Vedic period comprised from 2000 to 1400 B. C. The Aryas of that period were familiar with only the Sindhú (or modern Indus) and its five tributary streams, now included in the Panjab. Having reached the valley of the Ganges, the Aryan emigrants spread westward as far as Tirhoot. They became the founders of powerful kingdoms and dynasties in those regions and applied themselves diligently to the cultivation of science and literature. This was called the epic period and it extended from 1400 to 1000 B. C.

The epic period 1400 to 1000 B. C. Of the tribes and dynasties who flourished in the valley of the Ganges, there are many who make a conspicuous appearance in the epic literature. In the neighbourhood of modern Delhi flourished the kingdom of the Pándus. Further to the south and east, the Panchalas inhabited the country near Kannouj. The Kosálás lived in the country between the Ganges and Gandak now comprised in modern Oudh. From Gandak, further on, the



country was peopled by the Wadhias, and is now called Tirhut. The Kansis lived in the tract of country now known as Benares. These are the most prominent tribes of ancient times, though other powerful tribes flourished from time to time.

We have already alluded to the fact that the Aryan settlers of India were a race given to agriculture. Two principal occupations of the Aryans. The chief occupations, then, of the early Aryans were two—to cultivate in order to live and subsist, and to destroy the Dasyus, or aborigines, to give permanency to that living. This is evidenced by the following significant passage in the Rig Veda, given in the form of a prayer :—

“O, ye Asvin ! Ye have displayed your power and glory by teaching Aryas to cultivate by means of the plough, and to sow corn, and ye have given copious rains to allow the seed to grow and afford food, and it is due to your mighty thunderbolt that the Dasyus are destroyed.”

The venerable hymnal, the Rig Veda (from Veda an old Aryan word meaning inspired knowledge) is the oldest monument of Aryan settlement and Aryan chivalry. Hardly any known work in the literature of mankind can claim such hoary antiquity as the Rig Veda of the Hindus. The picture it draws of their earliest civilisation, the flood of light it throws on their ancient religion, their modes of thought and living, and the unique lessons it imparts, render it deeply interesting. Long before the religion of Sakya, or Buddha, arose, in the 6th century B. C., the Vedic religion was at work. The Hindus ascribe to the Veda a supernatural origin and maintain that it existed ‘before all time.’

\* European scholars calculate, on astronomical data, that the later poems were composed about 1400 B. C. The work of migration extended over centuries. The earliest hymns represent the Indo-Aryans as merging from their abodes across the snow-clad Himalayas. Then we see them crossing the steppes of the Hindu Kush and making their way to the north-western frontier of India. The latest songs bring them to the delta of

Indo-Aryans on their march towards the east.

\* The popular tales regarding the antiquity and origin of the Vedas led Dara Shekoh, the first son and the true heir of Shah Jahàn, a free-thinker of the Sufia sect, to have parts of the Vedas translated into the Persian language, from which extracts were translated into Hindi. A transcript of the Vedas was obtained from Jeypur by Colonel Polier, who deposited it in the British Museum, London. Fragments of the Indian scripture were obtained at the same time by Sir Robert Chalmers, while General Martine, at a later period, succeeded in procuring some parts. Valuable portions were obtained by Sir William Jones who translated several curious passages, and Professor Colebrook collected at Benares the text and commentary of a large portion of these books.

the Ganges. Their victorious march from the north can be traced in the Vedic hymns almost stage by stage.

The composers of the Vedas were certain families of Rishis, or psalmists, the names of some of whom are preserved. Other hymns are named after particular minstrels. They have

The composer of the Vedas. been preserved by tradition, having descended from father to son, and are chiefly addressed to the gods. They comprise 1,017 hymns, or 10,580 verses. The hymns of the Rig Veda are divided into ten Mandalás, each of which is sub-divided with reference to the Rishis, or Saints, who have composed the hymns. The first and the last Mandalás have been composed by many Rishis, but the remaining eight have been composed each by a special Rishi, that is, by special families or schools of Rishis. It is, no doubt, due to the families of these Rishis and other revered and illustrious ancient families that this very ancient literary monument of the old Aryans was bequeathed to posterity. Century after century have these hymns been inherited by succeeding generations without remission or interval. Young people of priestly families spent their early life in committing to memory the hymns which they had heard from the lips of their hoary headed ancestors. With the lapse of time, these priests grasped more fully the mysteries of creation and penetrated into the hidden works of nature so far as human wisdom helped them, and became thus the cause of the worship of nature-gods and their recognition as supreme deities, which lessons the sacred hymns so strongly inculcate. Being supposed to have been revealed at different times, they were arranged in their present order by a sage who obtained the surname *Vyasa*, or *Vedavyasa*, literally compiler of the Vedas. He distributed

The four Vedas, the Vedas into four parts, entitled the Rig Veda, Sama Veda, Yajush Veda and Atharva Veda. According to Manu, the great Indian law-giver, the Rig Veda originated from fire, the Sama Veda from the sun, and the Yajush Veda from the air. He does not mention the fourth or *Atharva*, as a Veda, though he alludes to it in his text. Other Sanskrit authors count it among the scriptures. There is no doubt that some portions of it at least are as old as the three other compilations, and its name existed prior to the arrangements worked out by the sage Vyasa. There is yet a fifth Veda named *Itihasa* and *Puranas*, consisting of diverse mythological poems, treated as a supplement to the text and as such reckoned as a fifth Veda.\* The first three

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\* During the period of Brahman supremacy, every priest was bound to recollect the Vedas by heart, and learned priests derived titles from the number of the Vedas with which they were familiar. A priest who re-



Vedas are distinguished not only according to their origin and antiquity but according to their use and purport. Those which contain the precepts are called the *Brahmanas*. They inculcate religious duties and comprise maxims defining and explaining these precepts by arguments and illustrations. The other collection, denominated the *mantras*, comprises hymns and prayers. These were recited by priests at solemn rites as invocations, or as praises to propitiate the deity, or as prayers for the atonement of sins, or the bestowal of children, riches, cattle and abundant harvest. Such of the Vedas as are in metre are styled *Rig*;<sup>\*</sup> those which are in prose are called *Yajush*; those specially intended for being chanted are styled *Sáman*.

According to the Puránás and other authorities, after the sage Vyasa had arranged the Vedas, he taught the different scriptures to several of his disciples. Thus, he taught the Rig to Paila, the Yajush to Vaisampayana, the Sama to Jaimini, the Atharvana to Sumantú, and the Itihasa and Puránás to Suta. These students communicated the special Vedas of which they had acquired knowledge to their respective pupils, who, in their turn, taught them to their disciples, and so on, until numerous schools, providing different methods of reading and reciting, arose.

The Yajush Vedas are divided into two sub-divisions, the white and black. A strange legend is related in the Vishnu Puráná relating to this distinction. It is said that the sage Vaisampayana, to whom the knowledge of the Yajush Vedas had been originally communicated, had the misfortune once unintentionally to kill his own sister's son. When he began to instruct Yajnya Walcyá, one of his chosen disciples, in the scriptures, in order that he might, in his turn, teach them to other disciples, he asked him to take upon himself a portion of the sin committed by his preceptor. This the disciple having refused to do, the revengeful preceptor ordered his pupil to disgorge the knowledge he had learnt. He immediately obeyed

collected one Veda received no title, for he was supposed to have done merely his duty. But one who was conversant with two Vedas was called Dui Veda; he who knew three Vedas, was denominated Tri-Vedi, and he who was versed in four Vedas was called Choutar-Vedi. In course of time, these titles of honour came to be regarded as the surnames of families among the Brahmins of Kanauj, and, according to the vulgar expression, they are now called *Dobe*, *Tiware* and *Choube*.

<sup>\*</sup> *Rig* is derived from the Shastri word *Rich*, meaning to laud. It signifies any prayer or hymn in praise of the deity. The *Sanhita*, or complete collection of the hymns and prayers, is for the most part encomiastic, and is hence called the *Rig*, or *Rich*, Veda.

his master's command, whereupon the rest of Vaisampayana's disciples, picking up the disgorged Vedas, swallowed them in their wet form. These disciples assumed the shape of partridges, and the Vedas with which they were enlightened through the act of swallowing, were for this reason called black. They are also styled *Titrya*, or *Titri*, meaning partridge.

The displeasure of the preceptor to which Yajnya Walcyā had been subjected overwhelmed him with grief, and, being divested of his treasure, he, in his disappointment, prayed the great luminary for the gift of a new revelation of the Yajush. The luminary granted his prayer, and the Vedas revealed to him were denominated white, or pure, in contra-distinction to black. The Yajur Veda comprises prayers to be recited at sacrifices offered to the gods at the full and increasing and waning moon; regulations relating to the consecration of a perpetual fire and the sacrifice of victims; the ceremony of drinking the juice of the acid asclepias; prayers to be used at the *Aswamedha*, or ceremony emblematic of the sacrifice of a horse or other animal by a king ambitious of universal empire; prayers and oblations for unfailing fortune and success; obsequies in commemoration of a deceased ancestor, and prayers suited for various religious rites, such as sacraments, penance, lustrations, &c.

The authorship of some of the Vedas is ascribed to persons of royal birth and to the kings themselves. There are dialogues between kings and queens, between kings and their bond-maids. Sometimes author kings praise their own munificence. For instance, in the eighth book, Asanga was metamorphosed into a woman, but through the prayers of a saint he was restored to his own sex. He rewarded the saint most munificently, and, in the hymns composed by him, has praised his own liberality. Towards the close of the invocation, his wife, Sawasti, expresses her joy at the king's retrieving his sex.

There is a hymn to water by a king named Sindhua Wipa, and a remarkable hymn by a king named Asamati, who, having deserted his former priest, took to the discipleship of another. The resentful forsaken preceptor recited incantations for the destruction of his deserter royal disciple, but the new priest intervened and counteracted the evil design of the wrathful sage by reciting hymns which caused the death of the former and the preservation of the disciple king. (Chaps. I and VII, Mandala X.)

Some of the kings were well versed in the Vedantas, or the science of the knowledge of God. It is related of a king of Kansi (modern Benares), named Ajatasatru, that he was

Kings versed in the Vedantas.



once visited by a priest of high renown, named Gargya, from his ancestor Garga. The priest was conceited and loquacious.

Dialogue between a king and a priest. Having been admitted to the royal presence, he offered to his majesty to communicate to him the knowledge of

God. The king rewarded him munificently for this offer, and a day was appointed for discourse between the royal host and the sage. The dissertation began with the question who was worthy of worship by man. The priest maintained that he worshipped, or recognised as God, that being who manifests himself in the sun, who sparkles in lightning, is apparent in the etherial elements, who shines in fire, floats in the air, exists in water, is reflected in the mirror, occupies and covers all the regions of space, is apparent in shade, is above, beneath and surrounds all and is the mainstay of the soul itself. The king, who was himself a profound scholar in theology, spoke eloquently on the subject and raised many points involving deep thought and high erudition. The high priest, who had come with the avowed object of enlightening the king and to unfold to him the mysteries of creation, was impressed with the intellectual and spiritual powers possessed by his Majesty, and, as he remained silent, the king asked him, whether that was all he had to say. 'That was all, your Majesty,' replied the high pontiff, on which the king rejoined: 'But all you have said is not sufficient for a knowledge of God.' Having heard this, Gargya proposed to the king that if his Majesty would be pleased, he would take him to his discipleship. The king replied: 'It would be upsetting universally admitted order, were a priest to go to a soldier in quest of a knowledge of divine nature; all that I am in a position to do is to make you certain suggestions.' Saying this, the king rose, and taking the priest by the hand, walked to a place where a man was sleeping. He called the sleeper by various appellations, but he was in such a deep sleep that loud cries would not restore him to consciousness. He, therefore, stirred the man, and, when he awoke, said to the priest: "While this man was fast asleep, where had his soul, which comprises intellect, gone? and when he awoke, whence it came back?" Gargya was unable to answer, whereupon the king made a long speech to explain the nature and functions of the soul and mind as they are expounded in the doctrines of the *Vedanta*.

As the three principal Vedas emanated from the three great elements of nature, so the principal

The Aryan notions of the deity. Aryan deities are three, namely, Agni, fire, Vayú, air, Surya, the sun; and the lord of the creatures (Prajapati) is their deity collectively. All other deities, variously named from their different opera-

tions, such as moon, earth, spirits, and atmosphere, are their essence. The great deity is the *great soul*, (Maha Atma), or the sun. It would thus appear that the ancient Aryan religion recognised but one God, the Creator of all beings.

Aditi is the name given by the primitive men to the deity. It means the 'undivided,' 'the unlimited,' 'the eternal.' It denotes the visible infinite, the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky. It is called the celestial light. The sons of this light are the Adityas, Varuna—the sun, Mitra—the moon, Indra—the rain god, and others not definitely named, but known by their actions. The great deity was recognised in the sun.

It is in the Rig Veda called Surya, the rising sun, and Savitri, the bright sun of the day. The Gayatri of the Rig Veda is dedicated to the sun god. One of the morning hymns says: "We meditate on the desirable light of the divine Savitri, who influences our pious rites."

The primitive men, in their simplicity, bowed their heads before every object of nature which appeared to them grand and sublime, bright and glorious; which inspired majesty, awe or wonder; which possessed immaculate beauty and grace, in the phenomena of nature; or which possessed the dreaded power of destruction and annihilation. The gorgeous sun and the shining moon, the brilliant stars and the bright sky first received attention and were adored and worshipped. They were personified and extolled; hymns were composed in their praise, and sung with all the devotion and fervour of an enthusiast and with gratitude. Thunder, and lightning, storms, clouds and rain, all received worship. Varuna, the god of the sky, received pre-eminent sanctity because it brought rain so essential for the growth of a luxuriant crop. 'Its unsullied power remained in the firmament and it held on high the rays of light.' Indra, from Ind—to rain, which signifies the rain-giver, became then one of the principal Vedic gods. The blushing dawn was compared to a bride just appearing with all her charms, in her choice garments, and about to unveil her beautiful face. She is compared to a busy housewife who, at an early hour of the day, awakes from sleep and sends men to work for the benefit of the household. Fire, earth, and death each received reverence, were propitiated, worshipped and dreaded. Rudra, the supreme destroyer, became the terrible god. Yámá, the Vedic god of death, became the

King of death. nekropompos, or guide to the invisible world. He was the first man who tasted death in old times, when woe and sickness were unknown. According to a Zend legend, on the earth becoming polluted



with sin and disease, this old king retired with a selected band of his councillors and dependents, and now reigns in the heavenly kingdom. He has let loose two dogs with 'broad nostrils,' and 'black and spotted,' to prey upon men. He is offered oblations and is regarded as the 'assembler of people.' Rig Veda X, 14, 1.

The Vedas contain prayers to the deity, hymns addressed by the sages to divinities, incantations against the effects of venom, mantras to be chanted on the occasion of innumerable ceremonies enjoined to householders and repeated in connexion with numerous rites, rituals to be used and ceremonies to be performed at various stages of celebrations and observance of customs relating to sacrifice, marriage, death, &c. The following is a prayer offered to the sun god :—

'This new and excellent praise of thee, O splendid, playful, Sun (Pushan)! is offered by us to thee. Be gratified by this my speech : approach this craving mind, as a fond man seeks a woman. May that Sun (Pushan) who contemplates and looks into all worlds, be our protector.

'Let us meditate on the adorable light of the divine ruler (*Savitri*). May it guide our intellects. Desirous of food, we solicit the gift of the splendid Sun (*Savitri*), who should be studiously worshipped. Venerable men, guided by the understanding, salute the divine sun with oblations and praise.'

Prayer to the guardian spirit of a dwelling-house.

The following prayer is addressed to the guardian spirit of a dwelling-house :—

'Guardian of this abode! be acquainted with us, be to us a wholesome dwelling; afford us what we ask of thee, and grant happiness to our bipeds and quadrupeds. Guardian of this house! increase both us and our wealth. Moon! while thou art friendly, may we, with our kine and our horses, be exempted from decrepitude: guard us as a father protects his offspring. Guardian of this dwelling! may we be united with a happy, delightful and harmonious abode afforded by thee; guard our wealth now under our protection, or yet in expectancy, and do thou defend us.'

In the fortieth chapter of the Aitareya Brahmaná are prayers for the destruction of enemies. The

A curse to enemies.

following prayer was supposed to have the effect of destroying foes, enemies and rivals, if it was uttered with due rites and solemnities :—"Lightning disappears when it has once flashed and is followed by copious rain; it vanishes and no body knows where it is gone. Similarly, when a man dies, he vanishes and no one can tell where his soul is gone. Therefore, when lightning disappears, repeat the following prayer :—

‘May my enemy disappear ; may he perish and no body know where he is gone.’ ‘Rain, having fallen, disappears ; the moon at the conjunction disappears ; the sun, when setting, disappears ; the flames of fire ascending in the air disappear ; so may the enemy vanish and disappear.’ Therefore pronounce the prayer,” &c.

The Vedas describe the Aryans of ancient India as a people given to religious practice and observances. From sunrise to sunset, and to the time of sleep, and, in short, from the cradle to the grave, there was hardly any action of life, public or private, which was unattended by a religious ceremony.

The Aryans a religious people. *Mantras* were recited, pieces of sacred music sung, and passages from the Vedas chanted, as a man, rising from his bed, set his foot on the floor of the house, as he washed his face and cleaned his teeth with a twig of jungle tree, as he poured water on his head and body to purify himself, as he stepped out of the doorway of his house on business, as he partook of his meals, and as he did any work in the course of the day or during the night. At the time of offering oblations to their gods by way of propitiating them, or awakening the souls of their dead ancestors, or at the time of sacrifices, the rituals were observed on a large and magnificent scale, the priests presiding over them.

As agriculture formed the chief means of subsistence, there was a god of agriculture called the lord of the field. Cows, milk, cattle, ploughs, furrows, rain, water and corn, seem to have been the objects of earnest attention. Of these only did the early Aryans think in their daily life, and of these they dreamt while asleep. Night and day, copious rain, abundant crops, plenty of cows, and sweet and pure milk were prayed for from the field deity. ‘May the lord of the field help us in nourishing our cattle and our horses, and may he thus shower blessings on us.’ The Lord of water was invoked with the prayer for rain : ‘May the lord of water bless us with pure, sweet, butter-like and delicious, abundant rain.’ The furrow was thus invoked : ‘O propitious furrow ! flow gently and smoothly onwards ; hear our prayer ; endow us with abundant wealth and a rich harvest.’

One remarkable fact apparent from the Vedas is the employment in Vedic times of horses for the purposes of the plough and agriculture. Book X, verse 101, says : “Refresh the horses ; remove the corn stacked in the field and make a cart which will convey it easily.” The practice of employing horses for agriculture still continues in European countries ; but it has ceased in modern times in India.



Allusion is made in various places to irrigation of fields by well-water and canals. "This deep and spacious well never dries up. Fasten the leather string and let us take out water from it and prepare tongás to supply the animals with drinking water." In another place reference is made to a "well of water for the drinking of animals, one *drona* in extent, with a stone wheel attached to it. The reservoir for the drinking of men is one *skanda*. Let it be filled up with water to the brim." Water was taken from the wells for drinking purposes by means of a leather string described as "shining in the deep and goodly well." It was raised from wells, for irrigation, by means of earthen pots fastened to a rope, or string, which worked on a wooden wheel, the movement of which caused the pots to go down empty and come up filled with water. The process is called *ghatichakra* and is in use in Northern India to this day. Irrigation in the Panjab being chiefly dependent on well water, and men and beasts obtaining their supply of drinking from it, the use of wells was indispensable for the early Aryan settlers in that country.

Allusion also occurs in the Vedas to irrigation by means of Canals. artificial canals (X, 99, 4).

We have already referred to the fact that the Aryans were presumably a building race. No distinct allusion is to be found in the Rig Veda to sculpture as an art; but abundant proof exists to show that the art of building with stone was practised by the ancient Aryans long before the ascendancy of Sakya. The various rocky and mountainous tracts colonised by them afforded special facilities for utilising stone as a durable, cheap and portable material for architecture, and it may be readily believed that, in towns bordering on the hills, many structures and town walls were made of that substantial material. There are allusions in the Rig Veda to "mansions with a thousand pillars," showing that the art of building with stone was known to the primitive Hindus.

To cut ponderous stones from hill quarries, to shape them and finally to make large pillars of them, requires a large amount of skill in the sculptural art, and this could not have been taught to the Indians in the time of Asoka all at once. They could not have attained all the excellence which the monuments exhibit without some previous training. Speaking on this subject, General Cunningham observes:—"I do not suppose that building with stone was unknown to the Indians at the time of Alexander's invasion. On the contrary,

I will show, in another portion of this report, not only that stone buildings were in use before that time, but that some of these are still standing in the present day."\* Again, these huge columns of stone were conveyed for hundreds of miles from one place to another, and this could not be done without some knowledge of mechanics, which the ancient Indians presumably possessed.

Greek civilisation left little mark on India, and, so far as has been ascertained, it has left none on Indian architecture. True, Alexander the Great erected some altars in certain parts of the Panjab, on his way to the

Hyphasis, or modern Bias ; but all he is known to have done in the way of architecture was the founding of two cities, one in memory of his pet dog Peritas, and the other in honour of his favourite horse Bucephalus. The stay of that conqueror in the Punjab lasted only for a few months ; and, as he is not shown to have imported any Greek architects into the country, the art of architecture in India could not have been much influenced during his short reign, or that of his successors, whose power was limited to the North-west of India.

The Mahabharata, which was arranged several centuries before the age of Buddha, abounds in allusions to temples, two-storeyed buildings, arches, balconies, pavilions, porticoes and walls surrounding large buildings. Mention is made of stone stairs in large tanks, of reservoirs and other structures, belonging apparently to the old Aryan period, and showing that the art of building with stone was not only known to the Aryans, but had attained some degree of excellence. The great gathering of crowned heads which

A royal concourse. took place at Indraprastha, or modern Delhi, on the occasion of the royal feast given by Yudhisthira, the King of the Kuravas, which is styled the Rajasuyá in the Mahabharata, was attended by all the princes of India who had been summoned to the royal court. Many spacious edifices were required to accommodate the princes and their retinue, and the poet gives the following graphic description of them in the text :—"Oh King ! These and many other princes, sons of Pandús of the Middle Land (Central India), have come to join this royal concourse, the Rajasuya. We have accommodated them in splendid houses, furnished with various kinds of refreshments and adorned with pleasant and beautiful lakes. Their pathways are lined by rows of verdant trees. The son of Dharmá welcomed the royal

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\* Architectural Survey Report, III, 1897.



guests with great pomp and splendour; and, after the honourable reception accorded to them, they put up in the quarters respectively assigned to them. These mansions were as lofty as the peaks of the Kailásá Mountains; were most handsome and well adorned and furnished. They were surrounded on all sides by solid and lofty walls, all coloured snow white. The windows, set with gems, were covered with gold lattice work. The ascent to upper stories was by stairs of convenient size, well-shaped and easy to mount. The halls were very wide and furnished with rich carpets. They were perfumed with odoriferous scents and decorated with garlands and bunches of flowers of sweet fragrance. The houses were well polished and in their whiteness looked as resplendent as the full moon. They were visible from a distance of four miles. There was nothing to obstruct the view from them. They were furnished with door-ways of uniform size, but of diverse patterns and inlaid with ornamental designs. The very sight of these mansions delighted the princes."

The Rig Vedas abound in passages showing that the country was infested by robbers and dacoits. Robbers and thieves. These were probably cattle-lifters belonging to the aboriginal tribes who subsisted on the spoils gained by plundering the neighbouring tracts of Aryan villages and habitations. Pushan, the god of the shepherds, was thus invoked for safety from the depredations of these robbers :—"Oh Pushan ! Remove thou from our path him who leads us astray, who inflicts on us harm, who plunders us and subjects us to loss." Another prayer for safe journey and safe return home was thus :—"Oh Pushan ! Do thou help us in completing our journey and remove thou all dangers from our path and prove thou a shield of protection to us and guide us." A prayer for protection against thieves says : "Remove from our passage the wicked robbers who trouble us in our journey." Another prayer runs thus :—"Oh all wise Pushan, the destroyer of enemies ! We implore of thee that protection and safety which thou art known to have extended to our forefathers and which enabled thee to guard them and prove to them a shield." A Vengeance against the cursed robbers is thus invoked :—"Trample thou under thy feet the body of that wretched robber who plunders us and commits acts of depredation on us."

The Rig Vedas contain passages furnishing ample testimony to the fact that the use of current money was known among the ancient Aryans, and that money was used in the buying and selling of articles of daily consumption. In IV, 24, 9 it is said : "A person

sells a large quantity of an article to another for a small price, and again, going to the purchaser, denies the sale and makes a demand for a larger price for the same article, but he cannot ask a price larger than that once fixed upon, on the plea that he had given the purchaser a larger quantity of the article. Whether the value be sufficient or insufficient, the price fixed and agreed upon at the time of sale, must remain unchanged."

The above passage shows that the ancient Aryans were lovers of truth ; that they respected a contract of sale, and that a contract once agreed to and completed had the force of finality.

Passages relating to trade and merchandise are of rare occurrence in the Rig Veda ; but the custom of advancing money on usury seems to have prevailed. Passages also exist in which the *Rishis*, or holy men, are described as heavily involved in debt and subjected to consequent misery and affliction. Their sorrow at their heavy indebtedness is described. Though there is no express mention in the Rig Veda of 'coined money, or currency, yet passages are not wanting in which the *Rishis* have acknowledged the receipt of a specified sum of gold money. Thus, one *Rishi* takes pleasure in acknowledging a present of "a hundred pieces of gold." V, 27, 2. From the passages relating to the indebtedness of these sages, and the bestowal on them of presents in pieces of gold, there seems to be little doubt that gold pieces of fixed denomination and value were in use as current money. No mention of silver pieces exists, though both silver and gold were largely used for ornaments, for women and children. Gold had thus a greater attraction than silver from the remotest antiquity in India, as it, indeed, seems to have had in other countries.

The Shastras strictly prohibit the intercourse of females of respectable families with public women. The latter, though looked upon with an indulgent eye, are prohibited from indulging in any familiarity with the ladies of good social position until they abandon their calling. Yet we learn from the Vedas that in the Vedic period

public women not only had free intercourse with the members of their sex belonging to respectable families, but joined them in dinner parties, were entertained by them, and indulged in singing and dancing along with them. We learn that the Yadawas not only permitted their wives and daughters to hold intercourse with public women, but became familiar with such women themselves, and the freedom of their manners carried them so far that they are described as indulging in debauchery in the presence of their parents and elders, or members of their family of advanced age. The only exception in this respect was



Bala Dewa, who was faithful to his only wife, Rewati. The Puranas are replete with stories of the strong attachment Bala Dewa had for his wife. He was too often seen drunk at festive entertainments, his gait being unsteady through intoxication on such occasions ; yet, even in this condition, he never forsook the company of his beloved consort, but sang and danced with her.

The Yadawas were much addicted to drinking. Respectable women mixed freely with prostitutes at festivals and on public occasions.

Use of wine.

The poet has described in glowing terms, how these ladies of all denominations and ranks, indulged to excess in liquor ; how they tottered and staggered, how they wavered in their speech, and proved a laughing stock to the company though the acts done by them in a state of semi-consciousness. They used strong liquors manufactured from different ingredients. Grape wine was in high favour and Bala Dewa was particularly fond of it. In the Puránás, wherever the name of Bala Dewa occurs, mention of wine is necessarily made as being in constant use by him. Spirit was extracted from various flowers and ingredients, and the liquors had a very strong taste. It was for this reason that, after a man had partaken of a glass of wine, fruit, or sweetmeat, or some saltish preparation was invariably taken to remove the unpleasant taste. There were wine-cakes, and hardly a mention of an entertainment is made in the Puranas without allusion to the use of such cakes. The custom exists to this day among the natives of the country of partaking of some fruit or sweetmeat after taking wine.

The notions of sacrifice at the altars brought with them by the ancient Aryans were as primordial as those of the aborigines whom

Notions of sacrifice.

they conquered. The practice has, indeed, been common to all nations of antiquity and is traced by some to a primeval revelation. It is based on the simple notion of establishing a kindly and permanent relation between the invisible Power and man by the yielding on the part of the latter of a portion of what the Power has given him, and thus securing divine pleasure and gratitude, or averting divine wrath. In the most ancient record of humanity contained in the Old Testament, we find mention of sacrifice as a rite already established. Only a voice from heaven prevented Abraham from carrying out the slaughter of Isaac, his beloved son, into which he had been tempted by Jehovah. Among the Romans human sacrifices were in use during the Republic, and men were slaughtered in honour of God among the Gauls and other Celts. Among the Indo-Aryans the chanting of the Vedic hymns was reckoned as the first round in the sacrificial ladder. The Vedas regard it as so ancient as to involve with it the creation of the world. No

better proof of this could be offered than the following hymn from the 11th *Mandala* of the Rig Veda.

‘On the ancient ceremony of sacrifice being complete (the Invisible Power) created sages, men and our forefathers. I view this oblation which primeval saints offered with an observant eye and venerate them. The seven inspired sages with hymns and thanksgivings walk in the path of those primeval sages, and the sacrifices they wisely practise put them in the right path, as the reins help charioteers in guiding their steeds.’

The ceremonies of *Aswamedha* and *Purushamedha* described in the *Yajur Veda* show that, although no sacrifices of horses and men were made in those days, yet the ceremonies observed were in imitation of certain practices which the primitive Aryans observed in the remotest antiquity, and which constituted their sacred rites at the altars. At the *Aswamedha* ceremony six hundred and nine animals of various kinds, wild as well as domesticated, including feathered game, fish and reptiles, were separately fastened to stakes or pillars, or placed between them at proper intervals; the priest recited prayers and performed ceremonies, which being over in due form, the captives were released without injury. In the *Purushamedha* one hundred and eighty-five men of different classes and professions were bound to a number of posts, and, after the hymns relating to purahotic immolation of Narayana had been recited with due ceremonies, the captives were set free unmolested, this being followed by oblations of butter made at the huge mass of fire lit at the altar.

Instead of the bread and rice now used at dinner parties and other entertainments, what was used for the enjoyment of the guests was buffaloe’s flesh, which was roasted in red hot irons pans. In the *Wáná Parva* of the *Mahabharatta* it is mentioned that buffaloe flesh was publicly sold in the streets, and that there was a great gathering of customers at the shops at which such flesh was sold. The Vedic hymns give a graphic account of these entertainments. In one place it is said that “Agni, the friend of Indra, quickly consumed 300 buffaloes.” At another place, we find: “May the day come, Oh Indra, when the Pushans and the Vishnus may cook for thee 100 buffaloes.” Such was the way of propitiating buffaloe-eating gods. The worshippers prayed to the gods in the following fashion:—“Have mercy on him, Oh Indra, who may present thee with cattle for thy food. Gowra, or Gawayá, sit.” Indra is addressed in the following terms:—“Take thy seat, O Indra, on green grass, partake of Soma wine and then depart.” On this a Rishi observes:—“Indra’s belly is as large as a lake.” It is mentioned



in the Viswamitra that "holy men drink the sweet juice of Soma in the company of friends sitting together."

Flesh was fried with clarified butter in large pans, and sprinkled with salt and pepper and seasoned with spices. In the time of the Rig Veda flesh was cooked with milk, and it is mentioned in one place in the sacred volume that "Vishnu carried a curry prepared with 100 buffaloes and one hog." Mention exists of the flesh of deer and of other animals obtained by the chase. Their flesh was either roasted, or fried, or cooked as curry and dressed with spices of various kinds. It was for the most part roasted.

No mention exists in the earlier hymns of the Rig Veda of beef, and it is not known whether it was used in feasts. Nevertheless a story is told in the Mahabharata of a certain king who daily slaughtered two thousand cattle and killed the same number of feathered game for the use of his kitchen. He is described as a very pious king. His principle title to virtue was based on the fact that he daily fed mendicants with beef. Curry was prepared of beef. In the Giryā Sūtra it is stated that the food for children and sick people comprised partridges, ducks, geese, pigeons and ortolans. Sauces of tamarind, pomegranates and acids were prepared.

At feasts and entertainments, every body danced with his own wife. Thus Bala Dewa danced with his wife Rewati; Krishna with his wife Satya Bhāna, and Arjuna with his wife Subhadra. Those who had no wives, danced with prostitutes; but all danced without restriction. Those who could not, owing to ill luck, secure the hand of any woman for dancing, danced alone, and became the laughing stock of the spectators. The sage Narada, besides being skilled in singing, was famous for jesting and amusement, and for playing the part of an actor, which shows that a reputation for piety and religion in no way interfered with merriment and gaiety.

In old days tutors were employed in respectable families to teach the art of singing and dancing to ladies and gentlemen. Eunuchs famous for their beautiful voices were appointed as teachers of the art of music, as was the case in Italy two hundred years ago. According to the Viratā Parva of the Mahabharata, Arjuna became a eunuch to enable him to teach singing and dancing to the daughters of a king.

In the Hari Vansa Parva of the Mahabharata, an account is given of the picnic of ancient times. It is very interesting as showing that the social rules and practices of the old

Account of an Aryan Picnic.

Aryans were altogether different from those of the present time, and that what is looked upon as repugnant to decency and good taste in these days was treated as essential for domestic life and an ornament for public occasions. The scene of the picnic was a lake on the western coast of Gujrat, near Dwarka, inhabited by the Pandavas, and described as a place of great pilgrimage much held in veneration by the Hindús. A journey to this place was considered meritorious and was styled Tiratha Yatra, or journey to a sacred place. The heads of the party who undertook a journey there were the sages Bala Deva, Krishna and Arjuna, who each started with their families and thousands of public women from their respective houses. Their sole occupation at the place of their visit was merry-making. They feasted, drank, bathed, sang and danced, and returned home without performing a single act or ceremony regarded as necessary on occasions of pilgrimage to such a holy place. The following is an extract from the text.

When Vishnú of unrivalled courage and bravery was living in Dwarawati, he determined on one occasion to visit Pindaraka on the sea coast. Having appointed kings Vasu Dewa and Ugra Sena regents for the management of the affairs of his monarchy, he availed himself of a propitious hour to march to the intended place with his family. Bala Deva, of renowned wisdom, Janardhaná and other princes and grandees, went with separate assemblies. Along with beautiful young princes, clad in costly costumes, marched public women in great numbers, all adorned with handsome ornaments and fine and rich clothes. These beautiful women had been originally brought to Dawa Raoti by the powerful Yadawas. They had been taken from the palaces of the Datyas whom the Yadawas had reduced to subjection. The Yadawa princes had kept these women for their own enjoyment, and Krishna allowed them quarters in the city as a safeguard against the quarrels which were of frequent occurrence before. After all had reached the sea coast, Bala Deva first entered the water. He was followed by Krishna, with his numerous wives. Aquatic sports then began in earnest. The feet of some slipped, some walked in the water staggering, some swam, some vied in throwing water on each other, some less accustomed to enter the running waters bathed leaning on others. Krishna amused himself with his wives, each of whom loved him with all her heart, and was thoroughly convinced that her lord loved her most. Krishna played with Rukmini ; his other wives tried to please him to the best of their power and adaptation. Some of the women wore very thin garments and each vied with the others in attraction, beauty and loveliness.



The princes amused themselves in separate assemblies. They were accompanied by women who sang and danced. Though they had been brought from their homes by force, yet they were so well treated by the princes that they soon forgot their homes and became personally attached to the princes. Everything necessary to make the assembled party happy, was provided in abundance. Both men and women decorated themselves with wreaths and garlands of sweet-smelling flowers, and the different kinds of perfumes and scents used by them filled the air with a sweet and refreshing odour. All engaged in different kinds of sport. Some bathed, others threw one another into the water, some enjoyed the scene in pleasure boats of different sizes and patterns. Krishna himself enjoyed the scene and wished others to do the same. He issued injunctions to spare no pains to please those who had come to enjoy the scene. After the games were over, Krishna bestowed rich presents on the female dancers.\*

The Rig Veda furnishes abundant evidence of the fact that the ancient Aryans were acquainted with the art of weaving and provided themselves not only with the necessities, but also with the luxuries of life. There are various passages in the Rig showing that they were accustomed to dress in rich clothes. No detailed accounts of these dresses are given, but the words used make it clear that they were made of rich and costly stuffs. The Dawn is personified as a god, and the following attributes are given to it:—"She is a god. She makes her appearance on the horizon like a young maiden and approaches the brilliant and resplendent sun as a young bride goes to her bridegroom, with a thousand charms, and with smiling countenance undresses herself." Referring to the night, the text says: "She is like a woman who covers her whole body with a garment." In another place it is said with reference to the Dawn: "She is like a wife who, dressed in fine attire, walks over to her husband in a lovely fashion and enchants him with her beauty." In another place, it is stated: "She appears like a woman in beautiful attire, or a woman who puts aside her clothes for the purpose of bathing." Again it is said: "*Ushas* (dawn), 'the daughter of heaven' shows her countenance like a female richly dressed." In various passages she is described as "dressed in an attire of brilliancy and splendour."

Some of the poems in the Rig Veda in praise of Indra are compared to "rich and beautiful garments worthy of being offered as a present." This shows that in India the practice of presenting *khilats*, or dresses of honour, is very old. In connection

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\* Indo-Aryans by Rajendra Lala Mitra.

with the rewarding of priests, the idea of bestowing a dress of honour is expressed in clear terms. Reference is made in several places to "well clad and well adorned slave girls." The Yajur and Sama Vedas abound in passages alluding to fine and rich costumes and dresses. The Yajur has also reference to "dresses wrought with gold," showing that gold embroidery was in use.

When the Aryas emigrated to the Panjab, the climate of the country being cold, warm clothes were presumably necessary to protect them against it. Hence, it is surmised that clothes made of cotton and wool must have been used, though no mention of either exists in the Vedas. Professor J. S. Belfore is of opinion that cotton is indigenous to India. Coloured clothes and rich garments brought in ancient times to Phenicia and Babylon, of which mention is made in Old Testament, are supposed to have been the produce of India exported to those countries by sea. The Vedas are silent with respect to silk

as stuff; but in the days of the Ramayana clothes made of silk were in extensive use. According to Valmiki, "Sita was dressed in a rich costume consisting of clothes of diverse colours and silk clothes and adorned with jewels and gems." She is described as riding in sumptuously-furnished and well-decorated chariots. The commentators on the Ramayana believe that manufactured shawl was exported from Nepal. The chariots are described as being covered with beautiful clothes. Silk stuffs were worn by princes, queens and other grandees. In the time of Manú the use of silk as a stuff was prohibited for the Brahmans.

In the Mahabharata mention occurs of clothes made of the skins of animals and of furs, also of golden stuffs sent to King Yudhistir as a present. These clothes were imported by the Kambojas, or residents of the Hindú Kush mountains.

The Abhiras of Gujarat manufactured blankets, and the residents of the Karnatak and Mysore muslins. Professor Wilson is of opinion that raw and manufactured silk was, in remote antiquity, exported to India from China. When Alexander the Great invaded India, his Greeks were astonished to see the Indians dressed in clothes as white as snow. They describe these clothes as being manufactured from wool, or the fibre of trees. Old statues excavated from the ruins of cities furnish evidence that in ancient times clothes in great variety and ornaments of different shapes and sizes were extensively in use.

The Rig Vedas abound in passages in which express men-



tion of a voyage by sea exists. The god Varuna is credited with having a knowledge of the birds' passages through the sky and the ship's passage in the waters of the ocean. Stories are told of shipwreck and the saving of ships from destruction through the good offices of the Asvin gods. A poet is enthusiastic in his praise of passengers on board ship who, before a sea voyage, implore the sea-god for protection during their journey and increase of prosperity and wealth.

Voyage by sea. Food, Wheat, barley and rice seem to have been used by the early Aryans for food, and these grains were eaten in a cooked form. The earliest

immigrants ate the flesh of horses, but such flesh ceased to be used as human food soon after the settlement of the country by the invaders. With the use of horse-flesh as food, a stop was put to the sacrifice of horses to the gods. There are numerous passages in the Rig Vedas in which mention occurs of great sacrifices of horses, buffaloes and bullocks, and of their flesh being cooked as food. Mention also occurs of altars and

Altars. sacrificial places where cows and lambs were slaughtered for sacrifice. X, 89, 14

and X, 91, 14. Sacrifices were made only on grand occasions, when a powerful king defeated his rival king and repulsed an enemy who had invaded his country. Long horizontal cuts

Horse sacrifice. were made on a horse with large sharp knives, and strips of its flesh were torn out according to these marks or cuts. The different limbs, ribs and bones of the poor animal having thus been torn off, the slices were distributed among the assembled people, who roasted them forthwith and feasted on them. The soul of the sacrificed horse was supposed to have flown to the sky to join the gods. In later times these sacrifices came to be performed on the pompous and magnificent scale which was attributed to Vedic times, though, as a fact, the ceremonies were observed in their entire simplicity during that period.

A peculiarly solemn rite was performed in Vedic times in imitation of the fabulous inauguration of Indra, of which full particulars are given in the 39th Chapter of the Rig Veda. It was believed that the performance of this great sacrifice would secure for the king who observed it great power and universal monarchy, that he would completely subdue the whole earth and traverse it in every direction. Mantras were chanted by priests with great ceremonies on this occasion and horses sacrificed. A horse fed with grain, marked with a white star on its forehead, and wearing a green wreath round its neck, was usually preferred.

Bharata, son of Dushanta, is described as having bound

seventy-eight horses for solemn rites near the Yamuna (Jamna) and fifty-five in Vritraghna, on the Ganga (Ganges). Having thus performed the sacred rite, the son of Dushanta 'became pre-eminently wise and surpassed the prudence of every other king.'

During the Vedic times fermented juice of the Soma plant was used for intoxicating purposes. Intoxicating liquors. The ancient people were addicted to it to such an extent that night and day they would talk of nothing but Soma. It formed their chief article of luxury, and all freely indulged in it without regard to sect, sex or age. Within a short period from the first Aryan settlement, Soma was deified and worshipped as a god in both India and Persia. In the language of Iran, Soma was called Haoma, while in India a separate chapter is devoted in the Vedas to its praise. The Indian section of the Aryans became so notorious for drinking Soma juice that many passages occur in the Zendavasta of Iran in which a contempt for the Indians is expressed on account of their excessive and immoderate use of it. Soma mixed with milk, sugar and other refreshing and tonic ingredients, was much in favour, and its preparation in this way was considered acceptable to the gods to whom it was offered as food. The Rig Veda abounds in passages extolling Soma as the best food offering for the gods. In Book X it is said :—"Take me, O Soma! to that monarchy where there is eternal light; where there are the regions of heaven! Conduct me to that palace where there is everlasting peace and repose! Guide me to that lovely place where Indra is!" IX, 113, 7. Soma has even the power to confer eternal life upon the gods. One passage has it :—"O Soma! There is nothing in the world which can equal thee in brilliancy. When thou art poured out in liquid form, thou welcomest all gods and bestowest upon them perpetual life." Young maidens by their charming sweet voice try to propitiate the god Soma :—"Seven young maidens stir thee with their fingers and harmonise their sweet voice in singing songs to please thee. Thou instructest a sacrificer in the rites at the time of sacrifice." IX, 66, 1.

The early Aryans set great store on war horses, which were of special service to them in conducting hostile operations and in waging war against aboriginal tribes who dreaded these horses. Some of the famous war horses were worshipped. Kings and princes rode on elephants caparisoned with all the pomp and magnificence of a monarch. IV, 4, 1. Bharata is said to have distributed a large number of 'black elephants with white tusks decked with gold.'

Dadhikra, the deified war horse, is an object of praise



in the Vedic hymns. As people scream and cry out with horror on seeing a thief enter their apartments, or carrying away their clothes, so, it is said, the enemy raised an alarm on coming in sight of Dadhikra. As the birds chatter and make a noise on seeing a hungry hawk descending towards them from the sky, so the enemy raised a shout of alarm on seeing Dadhikra when it made its appearance in quest of food, or to seize and carry away by force the cattle of the Dasas.

The 39th Chapter of the Rig Veda, which gives interesting particulars of a solemn rite performed by the ancient Aryan kings in imitation of the fabulous inauguration of Indra, furnishes particulars of the gifts of horses and elephants to priests who presided over these ceremonies.

Gifts of horses and elephants and female slaves by kings.

'Invite me to this solemn, rite,' says the text, 'and I will give thee, holy man, ten thousand elephants and ten thousand female slaves.' In another place it is said, 'the son of Atri bestowed in gift ten thousand women adorned with necklaces, all daughters of opulent persons and brought from various countries.' In one place allusion is made to the priest being presented with 'eighty thousand white horses fit for use.' The number seems, in all cases, to have been very much exaggerated, but these and similar passages in the Rig Veda, show, beyond a doubt, that kings rewarded the priests who presided over sacrifices, on a truly magnificent scale.

In no part of the Rig Veda do the authors of the hymns display their eloquence and rhetoric more forcibly than in the passages which depict the wars between the Aryan invaders and the black-skinned aboriginal tribes.

Fight between the Aryans and the Dasyus.

These latter the fair Aryans conquered or reduced to subjection, or drove them to southern tracts, or the skirts of the hills, or to marshy lands and inaccessible deserts. They were deprived of their homes and lands. 'Indra with his thunderbolt destroyed the Dasyus who lived in their mother-country. He deprived them of their lands and then divided it among his own friends (the Aryans).' 'The thunder gives light to the sun and causes the rain to fall from the sky.' I, 100, 18. That the aboriginal tribes lived in towns, is proved from various passages in the Rig Veda. At one place, it is said :—'Indra, with his weapon the thunderbolt, and with his valour and prowess, has destroyed the towns of the Dasyus and scattered their ranks.'

The thunderbolt is thus personified :—"O Thunderbolt ! Thou who art well aware of the beauties of our hymns in praise of thy valour ; do thou attack the Dasyus with thy powerful and destructive weapon and increase the power and glory of the Aryans."

The Rig Vedas mention four small streams, Sifa, Kullsi, Anjasi and Virapatni, in the neighbourhood of which the aboriginal tribes lived. Emerging from their habitations, they pillaged the Aryan villages and committed acts of depredation in the same way as the Tandia Bhils do at the present day in Central India. The stealing capacity of Koyava, a noted robber, is thus described :—‘Koyava swells through the property of others and steals it. He lives in the waters and pollutes them. His two wives bathe in the stream. May he meet his death by being drowned in the Sifa.’ ‘Ayo remains concealed in the waters. The rivers Anjas, Kulisi and Virapatni give him protection.’ In a prayer for the destruction of enemies, it is said. ‘O Asvins! Destroy those who bark like dogs or who yell like wolves, and who come to ruin us. Destroy those who wish to fight with us. You know how to destroy.’

A form of military instruction and discipline seems to have been known to the aboriginal tribes, who opposed armed resistance to the Aryan invaders, as the following extracts from the Rig Veda shows :—‘Indra who killed Viritra and stormed towers, has destroyed the army of the Dasás. He has made the waters and the land for the sake of Manú.\* May he fulfil the vows of the offerers of sacrifice.’ II, 20, 7.

The aborigines are described as not only fond of yelling and without tongue and speech, but as being hardly human beings. In one place it is said :—‘We are surrounded on all sides by the Dasyus. They perform no sacrifices and believe in nothing. Their rites are abominable. They are not men. O thou destroyer of enemies! do thou put them to destruction.’ X, 22, 8.

Such were the aboriginal tribes of India who opposed the progress of the fair Aryans from the north. Such was the fate to which the original masters of the soil were subjected at the hands of the foreign invaders from Central Asia who sought to deprive them of their homes and liberty. It was not without repeated hard fighting and much bloodshed that the northern invaders were enabled to establish themselves in the conquered country, to extend by degrees the area of their cultivated lands, to found new villages and habitations in forests and remote tracts, and to spread their civilization and the fame of their prowess in neighbouring countries. They entertained an intense hatred for the vanquished aboriginal tribes. Whenever they had the opportunity, they subjected multitudes of the population to wholesale murder, trampled their bodies under the hoofs of their horses, or scattered in confusion their assembled armed multitudes.

The aborigines, on the other hand, were resolute in avenging

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\* Considered to be the primogenitor of the Aryas.



themselves on their persecutors to the best of their power and means. Such as escaped the civilized valour of the Aryans, concealed themselves in remote and deep forests, inaccessible hill regions, or the sandy deserts and marshy tracts where grew thick reeds and jungle. From these lonely spots they emerged at favourable opportunities in strong bodies, and attacked and plundered travellers, lifted cattle, sacked villages, and seized the property of the Aryans, retreating again to their place of shelter with their booty. But, despite the obstinate resistance offered by them, the invaders pressed upon them on all sides and the area of their habitations increased. Throughout the land of the Five Rivers, new kingdoms were established. The savage populations were either exterminated or the remnants of them sought protection in the skirts of the hills, where their descendants are to be found to this day. Some of the weaker savages preferred obedience and subordination to the conquering races to expulsion. In the Rig Veda vivid accounts are given of aboriginal tribes who became subject to the Aryan yoke and adopted their religion and civilisation.

It has been mentioned that the Aryans used not only helmets but armour for the shoulders, and that they employed not only Weapons of War. javelins, battle axes and arrows, but bow and arrows. Besides these, they made free use of sharp-edged swords. The hymns of the Rig Veda are loud in praise of warriors. 'When the time for battle approaches,' says a hymn, and "the warrior leaves for the battlefield with his armour, he looks like a cloud. O warrior, do not allow thy person to be pierced with arrows. Conquer and subdue ! Thy armour will protect thee !' Another, in praising the power of the bow, says :—' We shall conquer the cattle with the bow. We shall obtain victory with the bow. We shall subdue the foe by the singular strength of our bow. May the hopes of the enemy fail to realise their object through the operations of the bow. We shall extend our conquests on all sides with the help of the bow ? ' ' The string of the bow when drawn reaches the archer's ear. On his repairing to the battlefield, the string whispers in his ear words of consolation. It clasps the arrow as a loving wife clasps her affectionate husband.'

Graphic descriptions are given of the battlefield :—' The horses neigh and spread smoke of dust with their hoofs. The charioteers spread dust in the battle field with their chariots. The horses gallop with great might and swiftness. They never retreat from the battle field, but trample the retreating enemy under their hoofs.'

An arrow is praised and described as pointed with steel.

From this it appears that all the weapons of war known to other countries in ancient times were in use in India four thousand years ago. People were called to the field of battle by the sound of trumpets, and bands of troops or warriors were conducted to the scene of strife headed by flags and banners. War-horses and war-chariots were freely employed. Elephants were also used ; but it cannot be ascertained whether they were used in warfare, as was found to be the case at the time of Greek invasion of India in the 3rd and 4th centuries before Christ.

*( To be continued.)*

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## ART. X.—THE TREE-DAUBING OF 1894.

### A STUDY.

WE are at a sufficient distance now from the tree-daubing of 1893-94 to take a dispassionate view of the demonstration. It is worth examining because it carries a moral which may be applied to more recent agitations, and which has been the key to our greatest catastrophes in India in the past.

The details of the demonstration are simple. The daub was a mud patch with a few hairs in the centre. It was plastered on trees at a convenient height from the ground; and, with one exception, the plastering was done at night and by unseen agents. Occasionally, in place of the mud-daub, a blaze was cut in the bark, the chips being carefully removed. It is reported to have been first seen in October, or November, 1893, in the *sál* forests round Gauhati in Assam; but it did not attract attention until, in the following February, it appeared along the Nepal frontier to the north of Behar. Thence, in the course of a few months, it spread over the Behar districts to the Ganges, and at last covered an area north of the river of about 200 miles long by 100 broad, between Gorakhpore on the west and the Kashi river on the east. Outside this tract, there were sporadic cases as far west as Cawnpore, and east in Calcutta and Cachar.

The hair plastered in the mud was examined by experts, but was not successfully identified. At first, in accordance with a prevailing theory, it was supposed to represent hair from the tail of Hanumán, the monkey god. Then deer, pig, buffalo, jackal, cow, and bear were in turn suggested, and finally it was conjectured that the hair of the cow had been intended, but that the bristles of other animals had been occasionally used in error by low-caste persons deputed to apply the daub, or by others in imitation of the genuine symbol.

At the time when the daub first appeared, gangs of *Sádhus* were observed pouring into Behar from the north-west, and others passing to and fro along the Nepal border. A series of marks found south of the Ganges were traced to a company of these men, and one of their class was caught in the act of applying the sign at Cawnpore. These evidences pointed to the *Sádhus* as the agents of the demonstration.

Its first effect was to mystify the rural population. The people, it was reported, flocked to their *Gurus*, and were variously informed that the sign was a summons to the Nepali shrine of Janakpore, where Hanumán had excavated a tank in a single night with the help of the trees of Behar; or

that it presaged the return of a mythical hero to earth ; or, again, that all creatures were about to rise to protect the sacred cow of Hindúism. Then, in the uncertainty of particular interpretations, it came to be regarded as a divine sign, or *tutkál*, boding trouble to whomsoever it might concern.

A discussion was before long opened in the English press which reached its culmination in the following May. The *Spectator* led off with a prophecy of a mutiny on the 25th of the month, that being the anniversary of a prominent event in the outbreak of 1857. The date was expanded by Colonel Malleson to the whole hot weather, and he compared the sign to the famous *chupatties*, likening existing grievances to those which existed then. On the other hand, Sir Alfred Lyall quoted the legend of a pious Brahmin's cocoanut, which, at an earlier period of Anglo-Indian history, had travelled over half the west of India, before it was ascertained to have been put in circulation to celebrate an occurrence of merely domestic importance. He suggested that a similarly simple explanation lay behind the present demonstration. Sir Richard Temple, like Colonel Malleson, held that it portended treason, but of a quality that it was not possible to determine. Lord Lansdowne, Lord Roberts, and Sir Lepel Griffin followed Sir Alfred Lyall. The ultra-pro-native faction utilised the demonstration to promote their views ; and an eminent orientalist discussed its connection with the *Bo-tree* under which Buddha is believed to have once sat in Behar.

The Anglo-Indian journals displayed something of the same diversity. Their most important contributors were the Commissioner of the Patna Division, and Mr. T. M. Gibbon, C. I. E., who then managed the Bettiah States in the north of the tract concerned. Each of these gentlemen in his capacity was entitled to speak with authority—the one as having command of all the official sources of information, the other as being in touch with the rural population, amongst whom he had spent the better part of a lifetime. But the former held that the demonstration was politically meaningless, the latter that it ‘boded grave trouble to the administration.’ There were other views expressed by many persons of less importance, but with these it would be tedious to deal except in sample. As instances, a leading paper argued that the manifestation was nothing but an elaborate hoax to annoy Europeans ; whilst one District Magistrate, with a reflection of Colonel Newcome's accuracy, ascertained that all the marks *but three* in his jurisdiction were due to cattle rubbing against the trees.

The Bengali press exhibited a bland spirit of curiosity, coupled with a tone of reassurance to the Government—an attitude not without its humour. The Zemindars and other natives of position did not publish their views. It was officially stated on



their behalf that they scouted the idea of any political meaning lying behind the sign ; and argued, with a show of reason, on the other side, that they would be unlikely to commit themselves by disclosing it if there were. They were accused by some of having inspired the agitation as a last protest against the cadastral survey of Behar, then in its initiation. A few Moham-medans professed to apprehend annoyance at the next *Bakr-Id* festival, but it passed without disturbance. There were rumours of a projected rising to oust Indigo planters from Behar ; and, although these were ridiculed, it was thought advisable to issue emergent orders to the Volunteers. In the meantime no change of demeanour towards Europeans was noticed in the native population, whilst commerce and trade throughout India remained unaffected.

The Janakpore tank theory was the only one of importance amongst the many broached which suggested a practical object for the agitation. It was supposed that the mud represented the trace which each tree had brought back of its efforts to assist the monkey god, just as the hair was supposed to represent hair from his tail. The place was, however, visited and the miracle exposed ; nevertheless mendicant devotees of all denominations were seen travelling to the shrine. It was accordingly suggested that advertisement of the holy place was the object of the movement, the legend of the tank having been designed only to appeal to the superstition of the more ignorant classes. The advertisement was explained on two grounds, as a protest against certain sanitary measures recently prescribed for the great Hurdwar fair, the most sacred meeting place in Northern India : and as designed in the interests of the anti-kine-killing movement, the riots of the previous year having roused the Government to an exceptional activity in repression. It was pointed out that Janakpore, being outside British India, would be free from inconvenient interference.

The demonstration was then associated with other portents of the year. There had been a penance of some simple character exacted from ploughmen in Behar. There were also symptoms of a revival of interest in Hindúism, which a year or too later was said to be still in progress, and to have 'set the minds of natives against everything European.' The prophecy that the sanctity of the Ganges was about to pass to the Narbadda was instanced as a sign of the times, together with the legend that British rule was destined to end in 1898.\* More sinister rumours were repeated of projected massacres of Europeans at Patna and elsewhere. The brow-mark of a

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\* More recently stated to be 1897.

Hindú devotee was put upon an effigy of the Queen-Empress in Madras, and Sir Richard Temple's statue was tarred over in Bombay. All these circumstances, taken together with the tree-daubing, were interpreted as indicating the presence of a widespread feeling of unrest.

The political conscience was accordingly searched to explain the existence of such a feeling. Attacks were made on the British administration of justice, and the ancient defects of the land laws, which had aided the expropriation of so many hereditary landholders. Many other old charges were revived, or new ones put forward : the tendency towards over-population which accompanies British rule, the education of more candidates for office than there are places to fill, the injustice of the cotton duties, the unfairness of some English demands on the Indian Exchequer, the interference of the Opium Commission, the Factory Acts, and even the assumption of State control over primary education, which was declared to be in the eyes of natives a deep laid scheme for the withdrawal of children from the religious influence of the old *pathsalas*. A native writer to an Anglo-Indian newspaper asserted the widespread unpopularity of the British with the lower classes throughout India, because of their slaughter of kine ; and finally attention was drawn to the darker aspect of affairs in Behar, where a dense population lives on the brink of famine, the mango crop (the tree to which the daub had been generally applied) had failed for successive seasons, and the corruption regarded as inseparable from settlement operations on a large scale in that part of India was alleged to be rife. It was suggested that the accumulation of such grievances as these had produced a wave of discontent which had found expression in the manifestations described.

No attempt was, however, made to trace the connection of cause and effect between the parts of this somewhat vague conclusion, and, at the first blush, it is not apparent that such a connection exists. For, in the first place, it is not easy to see why the medley of causes stated should have produced a general discontent at the time of the tree-daubing. Those of them which are old were not more acute then than they had been at any time in the previous ten years, and those that were new, were with one or two exceptions, of a character which the Indian masses would generally fail to appreciate. Secondly, if, for the purpose of argument, the discontent be granted, it is by no means obvious how and why it found issue in the tree-daubing. The conclusion needs further to be reconciled with the many special theories of the object of the demonstration which had been broached.

It is, therefore, worth while considering how far the materials



available carry us in seeking for an explanation. Looking at the matter broadly, we see that two inferences stand out with tolerable clearness from amidst the confusion of theories. The first of these is that the demonstration was such as to mystify all who were not in the secret, and command the silence of the rest. It follows either that there was an organisation of considerable efficiency, or that the meaning of the sign appealed so strongly to the people amongst whom it was spread as to make precautions against disclosure unnecessary ; or that the two alternatives were combined. And, inasmuch as there were indications that the organisation was defective, for instance, the delay in spreading the mark, the diversity of explanation given by the local gurus, the admixture of unclean hair with the clean, it seems probable that the second alternative had a large share in the result. The second inference is that the demonstration was carried out by a religious agency, namely, the *Sādhus*, acting under the instructions of the religious leaders of Northern India.

The first part of this inference, namely, that the *Sādhus* were the agents, accords with such evidence as is available and was generally accepted. The rest is to be drawn from the existence of sufficient signs of organisation to indicate that the agitation was inspired by some sort of guiding authority, which authority should, in the first instance, be identified with the spiritual leaders to whom the *Sādhus* are ordinarily responsible, so far as they acknowledge any sort of allegiance. That these leaders were of Northern India in general, rather than of Behar or Janakpore in particular, is indicated by the following circumstances : First, the *Sādhus* themselves were observed to come chiefly from the North-West Provinces. Secondly, that part of India contains the focus of Hindú enthusiasm in Benares, and has fostered many previous agitations of a religious character. Thirdly, in the only case, so far as my observation goes, namely, that at Cawnpore, in which a *Sādhu* was detected in the act of tree-daubing, he acknowledged that he was acting under the instructions of a well-known *Guru* in a northern district. Finally, the theory of explanation which received the most general acceptance, namely, that the sign was intended as an advertisement of the Janakpore shrine, supports the inference. It involves the existence of persons interested in advertising the shrine ; and, *on the evidence available*, these would either be the priests of Janakpore, or those concerned in the welfare of the Hurdwar fair, or in the anti-kine-killing movement, or both.

But the first of these alternatives does not satisfy the requirements of the case. For if the Janakpore priests had inspired the advertisement, it would probably have been designed to

attract wealthy laymen as pilgrims ; whereas those who actually responded to it were beggarly devotees. Again, if it had been the selfish advertisement of a single shrine, the attempt would not have passed without the opposition of the older centres of Hindu influence at Benares and elsewhere ; whereas it apparently secured their concurrence. It follows that Janakpore interests were not alone concerned, and, on the evidence, we are reduced to the supposition that those interested in the Hurdwar fair, or the anti-kine-killing movement, or both, who in either case would be the religious leaders of Northern India desired a meeting place beyond the limits of British control.

In making use of the above theories as to the motive of the agitation, I do not mean to present them as established. They suffer, in common with all others in which a definite explanation was propounded, from the fact that, so far as is known, they have not been confirmed by subsequent events, and remain, in fact, no more than so many conjectures of varying degrees of plausibility. Let us, however, consider the bearing of the two inferences drawn in the light of the other manifestations which preceded or accompanied the tree-daubing. Those which accompanied it have been described ; but one preceded it, of considerable importance, to which only a casual reference has as yet been made. This was the anti-kine-killing movement.

In 1892-93 serious riots had occurred between Hindus and Mohammedans at various places in India, in which the former were, as a rule, the aggressors. These disturbances were marked, as they proceeded, by increasing signs of organised lawlessness. They commenced in the cities of Bombay, Rangoon, and Calcutta ; and, although their occurrence in such places is partly attributable to the sudden impulses of city mobs, they were fought with a keenness which indicated some deeper source of inspiration. Outbreaks of a somewhat graver character followed in the districts of Gorakhpore and Balliya, in the North-Western Provinces, where the Hindu leaders, before resorting to violence, endeavoured to induce the Mohammedans to bind themselves not to sacrifice cattle. The riots which followed on a disregard of this demand appear to have been pre-arranged ; and the Judges of the Allahabad High Court, in pronouncing judgment upon some of the Hindu offenders, remarked that their offence came perilously near to rebellion against the State. A further stage, again, was reached in the Basantpur riot in Behar. A convoy of commissariat cattle intended for the troops at Dinapore was followed for three days by a mob of Hindus, who gathered from the neighbouring villages as it passed. The mob was warned off from time to time by the Police, but did not retire ;



and eventually the cattle were taken into the Thannah enclosure at Basantpur for protection. The Hindus attempted to storm the building by night and were only kept off with fire arms. This was a deliberate attack, not against Mohammedans, but upon the Police. There were other occurrences in Behar ; Gya and Patna, always turbulent cities, were the scenes of more or less troublesome demonstrations, while in the districts of which they are the capitals, punitive bodies of Police were quartered in several villages to secure the peace.

Simultaneously with these outbreaks, there had been an increase of activity on the part of the *Gaurakshini Sabha*, or society for the protection of cows. The professed object of the society was humane and politically unimportant, being to provide depôts in the mofussil for the care of maimed or worn-out cattle, the expenses of which were usually met by subscription from the charitable in the neighbourhood. At the time of the anti-kine-killing riots there were gaurakshini depôts in most stations of importance in Behar and the North-West Provinces. The local *banniahs* were the Society's bankers ; and its agents for the collection of subscriptions and agitation generally either were *Sādhus*, or adopted the mendicant garb. They were sent out to preach in the villages, and their doctrine, the innocent object of the association notwithstanding, was of thinly-veiled sedition ; inasmuch as, whilst dwelling on the sanctity of the cow, they taught how this sanctity was daily violated under British rule, and how, in consequence, the soil was becoming infertile, and the people impoverished ; while there was no prospect of improvement, since the British kill cattle as much as the Mohammedans, and without their excuse on sacrificial grounds. Large numbers of *Sādhus* were seen in Gorakhpore and Balliya at the time of the riots in those districts, and they were pouring into Sâran before that at Basantpur, where one of their number headed the attack upon the Thannah.

This movement, therefore, although intrinsically religious, contained a perceptible element of hostility to the administration, and a similar element is discernible in many of the later demonstrations. The Hindu revival has been declared by a competent authority to be antagonistic in spirit. The rumours of European massacres were hostile, and, however ordinarily empty, have a certain injurious effect, since they prepare the mind of the native for the reception of more actively poisonous seed, whilst their very absurdity promotes a disregard amongst Europeans of more serious symptoms. Similarly with the insults offered to English statues. The browmark on that of the Queen Empress, which was explained as a compliment, presumably to British tolerance,

was made, at a time of unusual lawlessness, in the name of religion, of admitted grievances against the Home Government, and apparently by one of a class who had been active in defying her laws elsewhere. It seems, therefore, more probable, as indeed it is more in consonance with Indian manners, that, if the act meant more than an empty insult, it was intended to bear some such signification as the absorption of the white in the vast depths of Hinduism. It would, perhaps, be thought extravagant to suggest that a similar interpretation lay behind the colour selected for Sir Richard Temple. In any case it would seem patent that the act in either instance bore an unfriendly complexion.

In the light of this environment, we see that the tree-daubing closely followed a movement which, whilst essentially religious, was also antagonistic to the British administration: that it was conducted by the same agents as the movement described, and, further, that it was accompanied by independent signs of unfriendliness. It follows, *primâ facie*, that it also contained a strain of hostility, attributable, in the first instance, to those who controlled the demonstration; and these we have inferred to be the religious authorities of Northern India. The inference, in other words, is that the leaders of Hinduism in that part of the Peninsula combined to promote a demonstration of a character unfriendly to British rule.

The evidence does not disclose why the religious authorities should have displayed hostility at that particular conjuncture, or to what extent they may have been animated by the political causes surmised. It leaves, in fact, all the most interesting questions unanswered. So that, whilst we cannot say, with the Commissioner of Patna, that the demonstration was of no political importance, since it appears to have been of an unfriendly character, we cannot, on the other hand, agree with Mr. Gibbon that it 'boded grave trouble to the administration,' inasmuch as no such trouble followed. Nor can we accept any of the special explanations offered at the time because none of them appear to have been confirmed by subsequent events. Nevertheless, we are not justified in declaring the demonstration meaningless, for it bore signs of purposeful organisation; and, although it would seem to have led to nothing, yet, because it may have failed, we cannot therefore declare that it was without an object. We can only acknowledge that we have failed to probe it.

The lesson to which the agitation leads us, lies partly in the fact that, after a century and a half of British administration, our most experienced representatives are unable to diagnose a characteristic symptom, and partly in the difficulties to which this state of ignorance exposes us. For, accustomed



to our own more direct methods, we are apt to forget that in India it is the practice to deliver many flourishes before a blow ; so that, when we see a flourish, we expect the blow to follow, and, if it should not follow, we conclude that it is never coming. In both conclusions we are apt to be deceived, and many of us have, in fact, been so misled in more than one event of the past year. We are thus led alternately to exaggerate and underrate the importance of periodical symptoms of popular uneasiness. We seem, indeed, no better able to follow the under-currents of popular feeling than we can those of the river Hooghly, and know neither until they carry us away.

It is conceivable, however, that in the matter of popular feeling we might know more. It would be interesting, if space permitted, to examine our prospects in this respect. Such an enquiry would open up an unlooked for vista. We should find, first, a reasonable case for an unfavourable conclusion : that the tendency, namely, of present necessities of administration is towards a less, rather than a more, intimate knowledge of the people, and a parallel that might not prove far fetched would, perhaps, suggest itself between our present position in India and that of the Mahratta rulers when the Peishwas were attaining their supremacy. So we should be led on to consider whether certain dominant characteristics of Indian life were not asserting themselves over, through, and in spite of our dominion : to reflect whether we are not still too dim-sighted ourselves to be efficient leaders of the blind ; behind the age in that, conducting an unrivalled experiment, we too generally neglect the ordinary rules of scientific investigation. Whether almost, as regards the people of India, we might not more profitably devote to the possibilities of themselves the care which we expend on the capabilities of their soils or languages.

CIVILIAN.

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ART. XI.—THE ORIGIN OF THE AFGHANS.  
(INDEPENDENT SECTION.)

AT a time when the tribesmen of the mountainous regions of Afghanistan are attracting so much attention, it may not be without interest to glance at the question of their origin. This inquiry has often been attempted ; but we are not satisfied either with the mode in which it has been conducted, or with the general conclusion arrived at that no certainty attaches to the matter. A hasty generalisation like this seems to us to betray either indifference to the truth, or want of capacity for appreciating evidence. Indeed, some accredited writers have put the question in terms which show plainly that they have not understood its essential conditions. Thus Mr. J. B. Fraser, the author of a historical and descriptive account of Persia, Afghanistan, and Beloochistan, in alluding to a history of the Afgans written by one Neamut Ullah in the 16th century, and translated from Persian by the Translation Society, makes the following remark :—" Their origin is obscure and probably remote. According to their own traditions, they believe themselves descended from the Jews, &c."

Now this is to confound things that are totally different. The Afghans never traced their descent from the Jews, and no one in the slightest degree acquainted with the subject has ever maintained that they are of Jewish origin. Indeed, they discard the very idea, and claim descent, not from the *Yahudi* (or Jews), but from the Israelites, or the Ten Tribes to whom the term Israel was applied after their separation from the house of David and the tribe of Judah, which tribe retained the name of *Judah* and had a distinct history ever after. These last alone are called Jews, and are distinguishable from the Beni-Israel as much in the East as in the West. Thus we have it on the authority of Dr. Geo. Moore, in a book called *The Lost Tribes* (which deserves to be far better known than it is), that " the Jews, both of Bokhara and Afghanistan, are kept distinct from those who call themselves Beni-Israel." The Afghans, according to Dr. Bellew, Colonel Malleson, and every writer of any weight call themselves *Beni-Israel*, or children of Israel. " When Sir Alexander Burnes asked Dost Mahomed Khan as to the descent of the Afghans from the Israelites, he replied that his people had no doubt of that ; though they repudiated the idea of being Jews, whom they treat with hereditary contempt. They found their belief not merely on tradition, but on an ancient record in their possession named *Mujnoo-i-unsab*. The Urz Bede, of Hajee Feroz, at Herat, possesses genealogies



tracing their descent from famous Israelites." Dr. Moore's *Lost Tribes*, pp. 153 and 154.

*Prima facie*, a race or people must be supposed to know its own descent better than others know it; and, from what has been cited, the claim of the Afghans to be the children of Israel is not founded on the mere breath of tradition, but points, as we have seen, to the page of history, such history as is to be found in manuscripts in their possession, or in monumental and other inscriptions of which we shall have to say more. In the matter of tradition also there is much misconception. Were all that has been handed down by tradition blotted out from the memory of the civilised world, its knowledge of the past would be very much of a blank. Just as, in the ordinary affairs of life, we believe, and rightly believe, much that has been neither sworn to on oath, nor tested by the rules of evidence which obtain in courts of law, so we are, doubtless, warranted in believing much that has come down to us from past generations, especially if it has left its traces on the language, manners and customs and characters of those concerned.

According to the Persian historian already cited (Neamut Ullah, the origin of the Afghans is derived from Afghan, the son of Eremia, the son of Saul, King of Israel, whose posterity, being carried away at the time of the Captivity, were settled by the conqueror in the mountains of Ghor. Cabul, Candahar, and Ghizni. "The historian goes on to say that they preserved the purity of their religion; and that when Mohammed, the greatest of the prophets, appeared, one of the nation named Kais, at the invitation of the celebrated Khaled-ibn-Walid, repaired to Mecca, and, together with his countrymen, embraced Islam. Having joined the standard of the faithful, and fought in their cause, he returned to his own country, where his progeny continued to observe the new religion, to propagate its doctrines and to slay the infidels."

The above is taken from page 413 of Fraser's *Account of Afghanistan*, already referred to; but we are by no means disposed to dismiss this testimony, as Mr. Fraser does, with the off-hand remark: "No proof is adduced of the truth of this traditional genealogy, which assuredly has much the aspect of fable." We think that from this tangled skein the anachronisms and geographical anomalies which the ignorance of the historian has introduced into it may be easily separated, leaving a residue of consistent tradition not by any means wearing the "aspect of fable." Thus, eliminating the supposed posterity of Saul through Eremia, his fabulous son, of which there is no account in the historical records of the Hebrews; and also the anachronism of the captive Israelites being settled

by their captor in the mountains of Ghor, Cabul, Candanar, and Ghizni, cities which had no existence in the 8th and 6th centuries, before the Christian era, when the Assyrian and Babylonish captivities took place, let us see whether the rest of the record has confirmation from other quarters.

Dr. Bellew, the author of three works on the Afghans, *viz.*—*Afghanistan and the Afghans* (1879); *Races of Afghanistan* (1880); *Ethnography of Afghanistan* (1891), makes mention of a historical work named *Tabakati Nasiri*, containing a detailed account of the conquest of this country by Changhiz Khan. This work has it that in the time of the Shansabi dynasty, there was a people called Beni Israel living in the country of Arsareth (Hazara) engaged extensively in trade. This people, about the year 622 (the year of the Hejira, or flight from Mecca, which marks the commencement of the Mahomedan era), responded to Khalid Ben Walid's invitation to join the Prophet's standard, and accompanied him, to the number of 76 persons, under the leadership of one "Kish," which Mahomed changed to Abdur Reshid and gave him the title of Pathan.

It is not difficult, we think, to see in the leader named Kish, the man who is called by the Persian historian, *Niamut Ullah*, Kais, which doubtless was the real name. The easy transition to Kish probably furnished the Beni Israel with a handle to claim descent from Kish, the father of King Saul; and they were not slow to build up such a claim.

In his *Races of Afghanistan*, Dr. Bellew seems to us to descend into bewildering distinctions of tribes, or rather small branches into which each tribe divides itself, and thus to lose sight of the great features common to all, or to the principal tribes, which should be kept steadily in view while attempting to trace the nation to its source or sources; and, in his larger work on the Ethnology of Afghanistan, he places too exclusive a reliance on Herodotus and other Greek writers, who are safe guides only to a certain point, after which they can hardly be trusted; while even Dr. Moore depends a great deal too much upon etymological speculations. While these have their use, they serve rather to start an inquiry, or to confirm a conclusion, than to afford substantial evidence of origin; while too little attention, if any, is bestowed on the customs and manners of the Afghans, which afford unmistakeable traces of their origin and descent.

What we are about to say does not perhaps apply so much to the Afridis as to other tribes; but it does to the Afghans proper.

I. The division into tribes, and their preservation of that distinction, points to their Israelitish origin. "The tribes of



Afghanistan," says the historian, Mr. Fraser, "though at the present time infinitely subdivided, continue in a great measure unmixed, each having its separate territory, and all retaining the patriarchal form of government. The term *Ooloos* is applied either to a whole tribe or to an independent branch of it. Each has its own immediate ancestor, and constitutes a complete commonwealth in itself." . . . "It is a peculiarity, however, arising probably from the internal arrangement of an Afghan tribe, that the attachment of those who compose it, unlike that of most countries, is always rather to the community than to the chief; and a native holds the interests of the former so completely paramount that the private wish of the latter would be utterly disregarded by him, if at variance with the honour or advantage of his *kheil* (clan), or *Ooloos*."

The last peculiarity emphatically applied to the tribes of Israel, who, though they had "heads of tribes" and "fathers of families" whose names they were not careful to record, were essentially *tribal*, and not *personal* in their attachments and loyalty. The tribe was descended from one ancestor, whose name they bore and even carried with them to their dispersion as far as it was possible for the *disjecta membra* of the scattered nation to do so, while the territorial designation followed that of the family.

2. The practice of private revenge, though denounced by the Mollahs, is sanctioned by public opinion. The death of a kinsman must be avenged by some member of his clan. This was the traditionary practice among the Hebrews, where the well-known *goel*, or kinsman, had a function to discharge which the law of Moses could not extinguish, though it fenced it round with safeguards and kept it from being abused; just as the Mahomedan Mollahs have been unable to do away with the same thing among the Afghans.

3. The *lex talionis* is the guide to punishment in their Criminal Code, although they conform in civil matters to the Mahomedan law. The measure of retribution, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," is rigidly enforced.

4. The duty enjoined by the Mosaic law upon a man to marry the childless widow of a deceased brother and so raise up seed unto the departed, finds its parallel in the Afghan usage which makes it "incumbent on a man to marry the widow of a deceased brother," with this difference, that the widow need not be childless in order to enforce this obligation. She, however, is not obliged to enter into a new engagement, and if she have children it is thought more becoming for her to remain single.

5. Another remarkable custom which marks the Israelitish origin of the Afghans, is their mode of inflicting capital punish-

ment, *viz.*, by stoning—not by hanging, crucifying, or beheading; not by burying alive or burning; not by the ancient artillery, which meant the bow and arrow; not by poisoning or drowning, did Moses command that criminals should be put to death; but by *stoning*. That the Ameer of Afghanistan practises this mode of execution, we have a lively recollection in connection with the death, a few years ago, of his mutinous officer, Timur Shah, who was stoned, not till he was dead, but only till he was half dead, and who was found still alive under the heap of stones the following morning. Stoning, as a mode of execution, was unique among the Hebrews, and is exemplified both in the Old Testament and in the New, and stamps, in our judgment, the Israelitish character of the Afghans.

6. The last custom which we care to point to as distinctly Israelitish is that of circumcision.

The fact that this rite existed among them before their conversion to the Mahomedan religion, has an evidential value not to be overlooked. The value of this evidence of origin has been greatly discounted by the alleged fact that circumcision has been practised extensively in eastern countries and even in Africa and in Mexico. But the extensive dispersion of the Ten Tribes, as shown in Dr. Moore's book, would account for this. We do not contend that the Afghans comprised *all* the descendants of those tribes; but that *they* are *among* the descendants of Israel. The Ten Tribes wandered far and wide and carried with them their peculiar rite; and, considering its character—that it was perfectly arbitrary, and such as is not suggested by any law of nature, or necessity of the human constitution, it seems far more probable that it originated in one known source (Abraham), than that it sprung into existence in different nations. It is true that Herodotus found it among the Egyptians; but it may have got there through the Israelites during their sojourn in Egypt. The Moslems of Arabia, where their religion originated, undoubtedly derived it from Ishmael, who was a son of the old Patriarch. Accordingly we are inclined to regard its existence among the Afghans before their conversion to Islam, as due to their Israelitish origin.

Let us try and follow the Ten Tribes from the time (740 B.C.) of their deportation from Palestine to the latest period at which they can be traced. They were not removed all together: there were several captivities.

Tiglath Pileser, King of Assyria is said, about the middle of the 8th century before the Christian era, to have carried the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh captives beyond the Euphrates and placed them in Halah, Habor, Hara and "by the river Gozan." (1 Chron. V. 26.)



Shortly after, the same king took all the land of Galibe (Naphtali) captives into Assyria, and is supposed to have placed them in the same region as the former captives (2 Kings XV. 29).

The subjugation and captivity of Israel were completed by Shalmaneser in 721 (B.C.), and he placed his captives in Halah Hara, and in Habor by "the river of Gozan" the same parts of the empire of Assyria as those had occupied who had been transported by Tiglath Pileser, and in the cities of the Medes. (2nd Kings XVII, 6.)

From the above it is evident that the captivities of the Ten Tribes under the Kings of Assyria had the effect of placing them in the regions of Mesopotamia and Media. The deportation of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, 100 years later, was a different affair altogether, and one which does not concern us at present, as their return to Judea did not involve that of the Israelites. We see from Josephus (Ant. Jud. XI. V., 2) that, so late as his time, which was in the latter part of the first century of the Christian era, they were still beyond the Euphrates, "an immense multitude and not to be estimated by numbers." It is of their leaving those parts, and of the course they took that Dr. Moore treats in his book—tracing numbers of them to Afghanistan by a route which bears marks of their journey and which we shall glance at presently.

In this connection we should have been glad to cite, in corroboration, the verdict of Dr. Bellew, were it not marred by an error so gross that we should not have expected it in so intelligent a writer. He says (Ch. II): "The traditions of this people (Afghans) refer them to Syria as the country of their residence at the time they were carried away into captivity by Buktunasar (Nebuchadnezzar) and planted as colonists in different parts of Persia and Media. From these positions they, at some subsequent period, emigrated eastward into the mountainous country of Ghor, where they were called by the neighbouring peoples 'Beni Afghan' and 'Beni Israel,' or children of Afghan and children of Israel." "In corroboration of this," continues Dr. Bellew, "we have the testimony of the prophet Esdras, to the effect that the Ten Tribes of Israel, who were carried into captivity, subsequently escaped and found refuge in the country of Arsareth, which is supposed to be identical with the Hazara country of the present day, of which Ghor forms a part."

Premising that the learned Doctor has, in the above passage, confounded the Babylonish captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, which related to Jerusalem and the Jews, with the Assyrian captivity, which embraced the Ten Tribes of Israel, with whom alone we have to do, let us see what Esdras

said. The allusion doubtless is to the 2nd Book of Esdras, Ch. XIII, ver. 39 to 46, in which we read: "And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him, those are the Ten Tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea, the King, whom Salmanasar, the King of Assyria, led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, so they came into another land. *But* they took this counsel among themselves that they would leave the multitude of the heathen and go forth into a *further* country, where never mankind dwelt, that they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river (in Armenia). For the Most High then showed signs for them, and held still the flood till they were passed over. For through that country there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half; and the same region is called Arsareth."

Although the book of Esdras is Apocryphal, the passage indicates what was believed by the Jews about the Ten Tribes at an early period. As regards Arsareth, "I presume," says Dr. Moore, "that the word may be fairly and properly rendered by its exact equivalent Oriens, the Orient, the land of the Orientals, the country always called Oriental."

Taking this passage for what it is worth, it is historical evidence of the fact that the Ten Tribes left the place of their captivity for an abode more to their minds in the East.

In meeting the question where the Israelities went, Dr. Moore thinks it most probable that they went into Scythia. For the Scythians had occupied Mesopotamia and Media under circumstances favourable to the Israelites, who were alike enemies of Persia and Assyria. It was natural for them to be on good terms with the Scythians against a common enemy. Add to which, traces of the Ten Tribes are found amongst the Scythians to the east of the Caspian Sea, in Sogdiana, Bactriana, Independent Tartary and Bokhara.

We have no space to enter into the details of evidence scattered in different writers and brought together by Dr. Moore; but we cannot resist the temptation to quote the following summary from his book: "The prominent reasons for thinking that the people of Bokhara [Bactriana] and Afghanistan [Ariana] are of Israelite origin are these:—*First*, their personal resemblance to the Hebrew family. Thus Dr. Wolfe, the Jewish Missionary, says: 'I was wonderfully struck with the resemblance of the Youssoufszye (tribe of Joseph) and the Khybere, two of their tribes, to the Jews.' Moorcroft also says of the Khyberes. 'They are tall and of singularly Jewish cast of features.' *Second*, they have been



named by themselves Beni Israel, children of Israel, from time immemorial. *Third*, the names of their tribes are Israelitish, especially that of Joseph, which includes Ephraim and Manasseh. In the Book of Revelation the tribe of Joseph stands for Ephraim. (Rev. VII., 6—8). In Numbers XXXVI, 5. Moses speaks of Manasseh as the tribe of the sons of Joseph; so that it is clear that both Manasseh and Ephraim were known by the name of the tribe of Joseph. *Fourth*, the Hebrew names of places and persons in Afghanistan are of far greater frequency than can be accounted for through Mahometan association; and, indeed, these names existed before the Afghans became Mahometans. *Fifth*, all accounts agree that they inhabited the mountains of Ghore from a very remote antiquity. It is certain that the princes of Ghore belonged to the Afghan tribe of Sooree, and that their dynasty was allowed to be of very great antiquity even in the eleventh century. They seem early to have possessed the mountains of Solimann, or Solomon, comprehending all the southern mountains of Afghanistan (Elphinstone). *Sixth*, Afghan is the name given to their nation by others; the name they give their nation is Push-toon, and Drs. Carey and Marshman assert that the Push-toon language has more Hebrew roots than any other. *Seventh*, the Afghans are also called Botans, or by corruption, Patans. They account for this name by stating that they lived as Jews until the first century of Mahometism when Kaled, the Caliph, summoned them to fight against the infidels. Their leader, Kyse, on that occasion, was styled Botan, or *mast*. This word is Arabic and signifies the possession of authority." [Pp. 145 to 147.]

Dr. Moore adds that the more ancient name of Afghanistan was Cabul, which it still retains; observing, moreover, that Ptolemy, in his geography of these parts, locates the *Aristophyli*, that is to say the *noble tribes*, in juxta-position with the *Cabolitae*, which probably also means the tribes, Cabail being the Arabic for tribes. He makes no doubt that the tribes were Israelitish tribes such as they now assume themselves to be.

With reference to the fourth of the above heads, Dr. Bellew, in his *Races of Afghanistan* (pp. 74 and 75), puts in a caveat against "jumping" to conclusions from mere names, "by adducing the fact that the Yuzufzais call themselves 'Bani-Israel' and 'descendants of Joseph,' though he admits that, in support of their belief, they could point to many places which bear the names of historical spots in Palestine, *e.g.*, the hill Peor (Pehor), the mount Moriah (Morah), the peaks of Ilam and Dumah, the valley of Sodom (Sudhum), the stream of the Gadarenes

(Gadhar), plain of the Galilee (Jalala), &c. To which we may add that the very name Takht-i-Suleiman (the throne of Solomon) has its counter-part in the region (Media) where the captive Israelites were placed by the kings of Assyria; for we find a mountain near Ecbatana bearing this identical name "Takht-i-Suleiman." Emigrants, notoriously those from our own country to America and the colonies, carry with them names of places from the home-land, which they apply to spots in the new country. It is therefore not a far-fetched inference that the Israelites did so in Afghanistan.

Perhaps the most striking and conclusive proof of the Afghans being Israelites is the fact, in favour of which Dr. Moore makes out a strong case, that the Arian language spoken by the inhabitants of Ariana, the ancient name of the country, now known as Afghanistan, was Hebrew 'in the period extending from the commencement of the Greco-Bactrian dominion to the commencement of the third century of our era.' Dr. Moore's sources of proof are inscriptions on coins and inscriptions on bas-reliefs and monuments as well as rock temples and sepulchres. The investigations into which he goes are too elaborate for us to even attempt to examine them here. All we can do within our limits is to indicate, as clearly and briefly as we can, the method of enquiry and the principal results arrived at.

Dr. Moore, we ought to explain, goes into a learned investigation into the origin and history of the Sacæ, a tribe of Scythians who, he maintains, sprang from the same source as the Saxons and Goths of the West. "I think," he says, "that those (Israelites) who dwelt in Assyria acquired the name of Sacæ, and those in Media will be found in the Budii (*Βουδίοι*) said by Herodotus to be a tribe of the Medes," pp. 105 and 106.

Into the facts and circumstances (in which etymological affinities and analogies enter largely) by which Dr. Moore connects the Sacæ with the Saxons, and the Budii with the Buddhists, it is impossible for us to follow him. The connection of the former with the Afghans is all that we are concerned in tracing in this paper. That connection may be briefly traced as follows. The Sacæ, or Saka-rauli, became so powerful as to place a king on the Parthian throne called "king of kings." "They were probably Afghans," says Dr. Moore, "having descended from the north-eastern borders of Sogdiana, through Bactria, into the country then known as Ariana, now Afghanistan. These are the people, the Sacæ, whom Alexander could not subdue and therefore courted as friends." They were often in conflict with the Greeks and sometimes under their dominion, "as we find from their numerous coins discovered in Afghanistan (Cablistan) on which both Greek and so-called Arian inscriptions and devices appear."



It is sufficient for our purpose here to note that Dr. Moore shows that the Arian or Bactrian language is Hebrew, and that it was spoken in Afghanistan from the beginning of the Greco-Bactrian dominion to the commencement of the third century of our era." In regard to these coins Dr. Moore relies much on Prinsep's *Historical Res.* deducible from recent Discoveries in Afghanistan. First we have pure Greek coins, next Arsacian and then Sassanian, when the Græco-Parthian dominion in Central Asia closed, during the greater part of which period an Ario-Parthian dynasty reigned over Cabul and the Punjab. But after A D. 80 a new order of coins is found, with legends in corrupt Greek. From one of them, of which a plate is given, it appears that, under the dominion of Kadphises, 'king of kings,' Buddhism was recognised as the State religion. The legend on the obverse is in the so-called Arian, which reads from right to left, of which no satisfactory translation has been offered, but which Dr. Moore attempts (apparently with success) to interpret by transliterating into modern Hebrew letters. In doing so, he finds not only the corresponding Hebrew letters, but Hebrew words which make sense. The resulting Hebrew sentence literally translated is : "*From my glory prosperity extended to them all, light extended ; but only because his recompense was with me.*"

This is sufficiently remarkable. If the transliteration into Hebrew results in Hebrew words which make sense in that language (but of this Hebrew scholars alone could be judges), a clue is discovered the importance of which can hardly be over-rated ; for it would conduct a specialist over inscriptions found wherever Buddhist remains exist and shed light on the darkest corners of history. The coin given above is not the only one the legend of which Dr. Moore interprets. Another coin has "*Kadphises worships according to the cutting off (or covenant) of the burning of Kash, the seat of Saka.*"

The next inscription we come to is over a bas-relief at the south gate of the great tope of Sanchi (Sáchi) on the banks of the Betwa, and about 20 miles to the north-east of Bhupal. The bas relief, composed of several figures, kingly and otherwise, is called by Major Cunningham : *The Casket scene in the Palace* ; but of the inscription he candidly acknowledges, "I cannot even make a guess at its meaning." Being transliterated into Hebrew by Dr. Moore, its meaning becomes evident.

*Oh Sak, my glory, thine image shall be for a festival, a mountain of refuge for those who come from afar, from Makath.*

"We shall find," says Dr. Moore, "from numerous other inscriptions, that the person honoured by such celebrations under the name of *Sak* is the same as *Godama*. *Sakya* seems

to be the Sanskrit name of this individual, and his history is extensively known in Buddhistic annals as the founder of Buddhism in its recent forms." Sakya Muni is a name familiar to Indians.

While engaged in comparing various alphabets employed in the East, Dr. Moore came upon a number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* in which there are several inscriptions taken from the Budh caves near Joonur, communicated by Col. Sykes. No interpretation was attempted at the time; but Col. Sykes asked whether the inscriptions might not be a very ancient form of the Sanskrit alphabet, as "Budh letters are prevalent in old Sanskrit inscriptions in the ratio of the antiquity of the inscription." Competent judges such as Mr. James Prinsep and Professor Wilson, agree in thinking that the ancient Budh alphabet is really the simpler and more elegant origin of the more refined Sanskrit alphabet. In copying these characters, with their equivalents in Hebrew letters, as they stood in the few inscriptions found at Joonur, a new interest was excited in Dr. Moore by the fact that the words themselves appeared to be Hebrew.

Nothing can surpass the interest to Archæologists, of the discovery of a Hebrew inscription in a rock-temple in India—not, indeed, in Hebrew characters as now known; but in letters which seem to have formed the basis of the Sanskrit alphabet. This is not the place to follow Dr. Moore through all the inscriptions at Joonur, or more properly in the Lainahdree caves North of Joonur, in the Poona Collectorate, or at Byrath, Girnar, Delhi, and elsewhere. It is enough for us to note the fact that he has successfully transcribed them into Hebrew (by transliteration of letters) and filled pages upon pages with translations in English, both readable and intelligible; a result impossible save on the hypothesis that the language spoken at the time when the inscriptions were made was Hebrew. The result, we take it, would be very similar were a Hindustani or Urdu book, written in Roman characters, rendered back into the Arabic or Persian character.

Our present concern, however, is with Afghans, as to whom we would draw no other inference than such as might be drawn in respect of any other people in whose midst we found inscriptions in a language unintelligible save as being Hebrew: viz., that the authors of those inscriptions spoke Hebrew. Nawá-grám, Kharki, Paja and other places within our border wait to tell their tale; while Swat, Bajawur and Buner beyond the frontier teem with silent relics of the past. Doubtless, much remains yet to be explored, and more light may be expected when Cabulistan can be freely visited. But meantime let our readers note the following remarkable facts.



1. In a village named *Kapur-di-giri* inhabited by the Yusufzais, on a rock on the side of a rocky and abrupt hill, has been found an inscription which Dr. Moore has transliterated into modern Hebrew characters and given in full. Like the Hebrew, this inscription reads from right to left. A plate of the engraved rock from a *facsimile* taken by C. Masson, Esq., together with clear specimens of the characters, and an exposition of the alphabet, is given at No. XVI of the *Asiatic Society's Journal*, by its Secretary, Mr. E. Norris. "We are indebted to this gentleman's patience and ingenuity" says Dr. Moore, "for the means of reading the *Kapur-di-giri* inscription, and other writings in the so-called Arian or Bactrian character—a character in use for several centuries throughout that extensive line of country over which the Selencidæ and their successors held dominion, that is to say, from the Paropamisus, or Indian Caucasus, to the upper part of the Punjab, including all Bactria, Hindu Cush and Afghanistan."

2. In Jellalabad, in the Cabul Valley, there are very many sepulchral topes, and in adjacent places. In a brass cylinder found in a tope, or *tumulus*, in Jellalabad, is found an inscription which, being transliterated from the Arian character into modern Hebrew, reads thus :

"Like the generation of the deceased, *Kadiphesh* was holy ; their race was that of the *Paradas* abiding in the wheel of the Almighty. Why is the covering I bestow on them that which destroyeth ? The mountain of the dead (*i.e.*, the *tumulus*) shall be holy for the poor, my *Paradas* (scattered), even for them. Their bows are their covering."

The Kadiphesh here named is probably the same as the *Kadiphises* previously mentioned.

3. In a tope in the village of Manikyala, on the high road from Attok to Lahore, was found a tope, or tomb, 80 feet high, with a circumference of 320 feet. It is built of quarried stones with lime cement. It was explored by General Ventura, who, proceeding downward from the summit, found various deposits at different depths. Among these were coins stamped and unstamped ; also a brass cylinder with an inscription. The Kings, named *Kanerkas*, are habited precisely like Kadphises. They bear two remarkable words, *Nanajah* and *Elias*, at the back of figures of Godama. The words are in Greek letters ; but they have no meaning in that language, though they have full significance in Hebrew. The inscription on the cylinder in which, imbedded in an animal substance, were found gold, pearl and crystal, has been transliterated into Hebrew characters, and reads thus :

*Thus was the exalted deceased also released ; raise up your heart, the deceased, their healer reposes in perfect happiness.*

An inscription on a silver disc has also been transliterated :  
*A protection from the hand of Badh, even Badh.*

Another on the stone which covers all the relics, resolves itself into two sentences which have been translated in like manner, but which we have not space to reproduce. It is enough that these inscriptions, one and all, are made up of Hebrew words in the Arian character.

The theory of the Israelitish origin of the Afghans has been discussed before ; but we venture to think that the materials glanced at in the foregoing brief remarks, have an evidential weight which goes far to settle the question.

T. C. L.

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## ART. XII.—A CURIOSITY OF LITERATURE.

THE genius and character of Sir Walter Scott maintain a permanent interest wherever the English language extends. But there was in his mental constitution a strange bias ; and his just and manly nature was not incompatible with a gratuitous delight in secretiveness which often assumed most unusual forms. Some of these were, doubtless, quite innocent, and never intended to deceive any one : the most simple-minded readers could hardly misunderstand the real character and meaning of the phantom collaborators to whom was assigned the sponsorship of many of what are now known, collectively, as "The Waverley Novels," Captain Clutterbuck, Jedediah Cleishbotham, etc.

But, in another direction, Scott made more determined and more successful efforts to mislead the public as to some of his works. About the time when he was engaged, anonymously, in opening the great gold mine of his prose romances—say between 1813 and 1817—he resolved to make a final attempt to command attention as a poet, yet shrank from exposing his name to the chance of failure. In March, 1813, the Ballantynes brought out the first of these cryptic pieces, under the title of "The Bridal of Triermain ;" and some pains were taken to persuade readers that the poem was an imitation of the great Minstrel by a Scottish Judge, William Erskine, whose forensic title was Lord Kinneder. The critics were completely bamboozled, pronouncing the parody clever, but obviously by a weaker hand ; and it was not until two large editions had been exhausted that any knowledge of the true authorship became general. One exception, however, there was : Wilson, in *Blackwood*, observing that the poem was less based on Scott's "Lay" and other poems than on the "Christabel" of S. T. Coleridge, which was written on a canon of metre different from Scott's and claimed by Coleridge as an invention of his own. The *Blackwood* article, which, however, did not appear until four years after the poem, concluded with a hint, strong enough for the comprehension of the elect, that Scott was the author.

Scott's share in the mystification was kept up till his friend, Erskine, would have no more of the vicarious honour ; and in 1817 a second venture of the same kind appeared under the rubric of "Harold the Dauntless." Once more the critics—Wilson this time being one of them—were deluded and unanimously pronounced the poem an inferior imitation of Scott.

In this, to be sure, they were not so far wrong : "Harold," even though Scott was the author, was little better than a pale simulacrum of "Marmion ;" and was miles below "Triermain" in every kind of merit.

The question remains, to what are we to attribute the grace and beauty of the last named poem, surpassing, in some important respects, the best of the metrical tales published with the full avowal of the author's name ? No reader of poetical sensibility can fail to notice the charm of the interlude of Arthur and his Lucy, with its modern passion and delicate humour ; while the descriptions of scenery and adventure in the main story are a brilliant anticipation of Tennyson, with a touch lighter and more masterly than one often finds in "The Idylls of the King." The metre, too, as observed in Blackwood, is more free and accentuated than is usual in Scott's poems, and in many places appears modelled on "Christabel."

A great difficulty, however, arises out of the dates. "Christabel" was not published till 1816—the year before Wilson's article : and the early part of "Triermain" was published, in a periodical, as far back as 1809 : but it is precisely this early part which shows most strongly the new influence.

Finally, to deepen the darkness yet more, comes the startling discovery that the name of Scott's hero is the name of Christabel's father :—

"SIR ROLAND de VAUX OF TRYERMAINE."

There are but two explanations of this unparalleled imbroglio. There is a school of mystics who teach that genius is a modified form of epilepsy, in which the possessed being is subject to hallucinations that defy all known laws of nature. It is on record that Scott dictated his wonderful prose romance, "The Bride of Lammermoor," from a sick bed, and on his recovery had forgotten all about it, so as to be able to read his own tale with all the zest of a "general reader." The mystics may say that in some such abnormal state he may have had previsions of a poem that was unpublished, even to the extent of anticipating a whole string of names and borrowing his very title.

Those to whom this explanation appears, itself, inexplicable, must fall back on a more pedestrian theory. Byron had seen "Christabel" in M. S. before 1816 ; for it was by his advice that it was first published in that year. The first part of the poem, which is all that counts—was, indeed, composed at Nether Stowey before the close of the eighteenth century ; and, if Byron saw it in M.S., Scott may have had a similar privilege ; in which case his being influenced by the poem, weird



and unique as it is, may admit of a natural explanation. Not the less, however, will the matter remain a monument to Scott's extraordinary love of hoaxing, as also, indeed to the critical acumen of Christopher North.

H. G. KEENE.

### ART XIII.—NOTES FROM THE CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

#### No. II.

*Continued from the Calcutta Review for January 1896. No. 203.*

**I**N this paper I propose to give short natural history accounts of the animals, birds and reptiles which, on a visit paid by me to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens on the 6th October 1897, appeared to me to be altogether new to the collection there.

Proceeding towards the Ruminantia Paddocks at the southern extremity of the Gardens, and beginning our inspection from the easternmost of the enclosures in which the Committee's collection of the ruminating animals is lodged, we come to the second paddock, wherein at present lives a specimen of the beautiful and interesting Guatemalan Deer (*Cariacus punctulatus*, Gray). This handsome member of the deer tribe has its home in Guatemala and the neighbouring countries of South America. The animal now exhibited in these gardens was presented in 1895 by Captain L. Doherr, of the S. S. *Baroda*, who brought it in his ship all the way from South America and very generously made a gift of it to the Committee. Curious visitors will be surprised to find that its ears are unfortunately cut and at a loss to make out the cause of this mutilation. The history of its lopped ears is somewhat interesting; and it will not, I hope, be out of place to give it here as told by Captain Doherr himself:—"The animal was reared by a Gaucho, to whom it was much attached, and who allowed it to roam about in the woods during the day. He was, however, anxious for its return home every night, and to ensure this, he resorted to the ingenious but cruel expedient of cutting off its ears, with a view to cause the heavy dew to get inside the ears. This rendered the animal very uncomfortable and drove it to seek shelter at home. Even now the animal is fond of being under shelter rather than outside."

The Guatemalan deer belongs to the genus *Cariacus* in which all the American deer, with the exception of the wapiti, reindeer, elk, and the two Pudu-deer (*Pudua*) of the Chilian Andes and Ecuador, are included. The main characteristic of the deer of the genus *Cariacus* is that their antlers, when fully developed, divide in a more or less regularly fork-like manner. In some species the antlers are large and branching whereas in certain of the smaller forms they are in the



form of simple spikes. The muzzle of these deer bears a similarity to that of the *Cervidæ*; their tail is of variable length; and the peltage of the adults is characterised by uniform coloration. Their geographical distribution is confined to almost the whole of the American Continent. But it is only in the southern portion of the Continent that the members of the genus attain their maximum development.

Proceeding towards the north, we come to a paddock nearly opposite to the Sonebursa enclosures for Kangaroos and Rheas, which contains a pair of the Red Deer of Europe (*Cervus elaphus*, Linn.). One of the specimens is an albino, as the whole of its coat is uniformly white, while the other specimen is of a dirty grey colour. The present pair was presented to the Calcutta Gardens by the Nawab Bahadur of Moorshedabad. The Red Deer, or Stag, together with the North American Wapiti (*Cervus Canadensis*), is included in the typical, or Elaphine, group of the genus *Cervus*, and is characterised by the presence of a second, or bez-tine, to the antlers, when these reach their highest development; the beam of each antler is rounded, and splits up near its summit, into a larger or smaller number of points, which in some species form a cup. In some of the old castles in Germany are preserved pairs of horns of this animal which far exceed in dimensions anything to be now met with in England, or even in the forests of Central Europe, where the heads still attain greater dimensions than in Scotland. The tail is short in length; and there is a large light-coloured patch on the buttocks all round the base of the tail. The remainder of the body is coloured uniformly brown. The Red Deer, which inhabits some of the forests of Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa, has the antlers, when developed to their fullest extent, as in a "royal hart," forming a distinct cup at the summits. The stags living in the more northern parts are smaller in size. In England, Red Deer are found on Exmoor, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in some parts of Ireland.

It is a very handsome animal and, when full-grown, stands over 4 feet at the withers. The male stags possess antlers, and are rather larger and stronger than the females. Their voice is also deeper, for they bellow very loudly when enraged or when challenging their rivals. They are very pugnacious in their habits, often fighting fiercely, and the combats sometimes proving fatal even to both the combatants, for their antlers sometimes get interlocked inextricably. During the combats the projecting brow-tines are very effectively used as deadly weapons. The Red Deer breeds in September or October; but the young are not born till the end of May or the begin-

ing of June. As in the majority of the *Cervidæ*, the young are at first slightly spotted with white. In the first year the young male has only a hint of antlers, in the second year only small unbranched beams; subsequently a tine is added every year.

Leaving the Ruminantia Paddocks, we direct our steps towards the Gubboy House. In one of the table-cages to the west are a pair of the white-fronted Lemur of Madagascar (*Lemur albifrons*, Geoffr.) These animals are altogether new to the collection; and their conspicuous feature is that their foreheads are entirely patched with white—a feature from which their specific designation, *albifrons*, is derived. In close proximity are cages in which are a pair each of the allied Ruffed Lemur (*L. varius*, Geoffr.) and Mongoose Lemur (*L. mongoz*, Linn.), both of the latter being also found in the island of Madagascar. The true Lemurs (*Lemur*) have fore and hind limbs of nearly equal length, toes free to the base, and 36 teeth in the adult. They are further characterised by the elongated muzzle, the conspicuous, tufted ears, and the separation of the upper incisor teeth both from one another and from the canines; the two teats of the female being situated on the breast. They are very variable in their coloration, being marked with various shades of red, brown and black. Eight species of animals belonging to the genus *Lemur* are at present known to naturalists. The Lemurs are strictly nocturnal in their habits and are more quadrupedal in their movements than the Lemurs of the genera *Indris* and *Propithecus*, moving about both on the ground and in trees with great activity. The white-fronted, Ruffed and Mongoose Lemurs live on a mixed diet, and the females of these species carry their offspring singly and transversely across the lower part of their bodies.

Leaving the Lemurs' cages, we move eastwards and find, in one of the table cages in the eastern part of the house, a young specimen of the white-throated Capuchin (*Cebus hypoleucus*, Humb.), of Central America, which has been acquired by purchase. The most conspicuous feature of this species of the Capuchin Monkey is a large patch of white which marks the upper part of the chest, throat and chin—from which it derives its specific name of *white-throated*. The specimen on exhibition at Alipur is of very lively habits and greedily consumed the numerous bits of plantain which the visitors gave it. In a table-cage elsewhere in this house are a pair of the Weeper Capuchin of Brazil (*C. Capucinus*, Geoffr.). So lovers of natural history may compare the two species and observe their specific distinctions. The Weeper Capuchin has a coat of uniform brown coloration, whereas



the white-throated species is characterised by the large white patch on its throat.

The Sapajons, or Capuchin monkeys, are a genus of numerous dull-coloured species of rather stout build, having limbs of moderate length, the peltage not wooly, the thumb fully developed, and the lower surface of the tip of the tail covered with hair. Although the difficulty of distinguishing the various species of Capuchin monkeys is very much increased by the variations of coloration which are to be found in many of them, and which seem to indicate transitions from one species to another, yet about eighteen species of the genus *Cetus* are at present known to naturalists, and are distributed over the region which extend from Mexico to Paraguay. As the Capuchin monkeys are comparatively hardy, and, being of gentle disposition, easily tamed, trained specimens of them are more frequently carried about in England and in other European countries by the itinerant organ grinders than any other of their kith and kin. On account of the tip being completely covered with hair the Capuchin monkeys cannot use their tail as a fifth hand so thoroughly as the Spider monkeys do.

Then leaving the Gubboy House, we proceed to the Murshidabad House. In the central compartment is a cage containing a fine specimen of the Lesser Bird of Paradise (*Paradisea minor*, Shaw.) from New Guinea, which the Committee of the gardens have been fortunate enough to acquire by exchange. This species is altogether new to the collection. In close proximity to it is a cage which contains a specimen of the Greater Bird of Paradise (*P. apoda*, Linn.) from the same island. Ornithologists specially interested in this group of birds have now the rare opportunity of studying two allied species side by side. To lay observers, the only difference between the two species appears to be their relative sizes. The Birds of Paradise belong to a group allied to the crows, but differ from the true crows in the structure of the feet, the outer toe being longer than the inner, but shorter than the middle one. Their nest and eggs are corvine, and they are really nothing but gorgeously colored crows. Their chief characteristic is the possession of extraordinary tufts and plumes which adorn their gaudy plumage. These Birds of Paradise live in the forests of the Papuan islands and the Moluccas, and are very plentiful in some localities such as the Aru Islands. Their plumes are very much prized as ornaments for ladies' bonnets.

Leaving the Murshidabad House, we next proceed to the Reptile House where we find in one of the northern wall-cages a specimen of the Horrid Rattle-snake of America (*Crotalus horridus*, Linn.), which has been acquired by exchange. This snake is not only altogether new to the collection, but also the

first of its kind ever seen in India. These snakes derive their distinctive name from the possession of that curious jointed hairy appendage to their tail which is commonly known as the rattle. It is said that, the longer a rattle-snake lives, the more joints it has to its rattle. At present eleven species of Rattle-snake are known to naturalists, all of which inhabit the dry sandy districts of North America, only one of them ranging to South America. In parts of North America, these snakes frequently take up their abode in the burrows of the Prairie-Marmot (*Cynomys ludovicianus*), where they prey on the young of the rightful owners. In the colder regions of North America, these snakes become torpid during the winter months; and in certain rocky districts they formerly used to congregate in large numbers, living through the winter months huddled up together in caves, where they kept one another warm. Curiously enough, the rattle-snakes do not possess the power of hissing; and it is believed that this disability has some connection with the presence of the rattle.

Retracing our steps towards the Murshidabad House, we cross the iron-bridge across the arm of the serpentine and proceed to the Surnomoyi House. In the north-eastern compartment of the central cages of this house are specimens of the Long-billed Francolin of the Malayan peninsula (*Rhizothera longirostris*, Temm.), which have been acquired by purchase, as also specimens of the Large Stone Plover of India (*Æsacus recurvirostris*, Cuv.). Both these birds are altogether new to the collection.

The long-billed Francolin is, as its name signifies, distinguished by its long bill and inhabits the souther portion of the Malayan Peninsula, Sumatra, and the lowlands of Borneo. In the highlands of the latter island, on Mount Dulit, at an elevation of 4,000 feet, the *longirostris* is replaced by Hose's Long-billed Francolin (*Rh. dulitensis*).

The Large Stone Plover is one of the two Indian and Malayan representatives of the birds (Stone-Plovers) belonging to the sub-order *Edicnemi*. These Stone-Plovers, with their great yellow eyes and stout legs, form the connecting link between the plovers and the bustards. They have holorhinal nostrils like the latter, and in many anatomical characters are more like the latter sub-order (*Otides*) than the *Charadrii*. They inhabit the temperate and tropical portions of the Old World, and re-occur in Central and South America.

Proceeding to the Buckland Enclosure, we find that it is now tenanted by a specimen each of three species of Tapirs, namely, the Brazilian Tapir (*Tapirus americanus*, Gmel.) from South America; the Hairy Tapir of Columbia (*T. roulini*, Fischer); and the Malayan Tapir (*T. indicus*, Desm.) from Malacca. Of



these the Brazilian and the Columbian species, now on exhibition at Alipore, are altogether new to the collection and deserving of special notice. In 1892-93 the Committee acquired, by exchange with Mr. Carl Hagenbeck, the well-known dealer in wild animals of Hamburg, a specimen of the Baird's Tapir (*T. bairdi*, Gill.) from Central America. The collection of these animals then owned by the Committee was unique in its comprehensive character, as it included four, out of the five, living species of Tapirs. Even now, the collection of these animals, including as it does three out of the five existing species, is well worth of careful inspection ; and lovers of natural history have now the rare opportunity of studying three species side by side. The Brazilian Tapir was obtained by exchange from the Zoological Society of London.

The Tapir, as also the Horse and the Rhinoceros, belong to that section of the *Ungulata*, known as the *Perissodactyla*. It has four toes on the front foot and three toes on the hind foot, but, as regards some of its anatomical characteristics, it is more closely allied to the rhinoceros than to the horse. The most conspicuous feature of the tapir is the somewhat elongated proboscis, which is used by it for conveying food to its mouth. Its eyes are small and unintelligent, and its coloration is peculiar, as the hinder portions of the sides, back and belly are nearly white, while the rest of the animal is glossy black. Its pelage consists of short hair ; its tail is very short ; and the ears are pointed and their bases white behind. It inhabits the tropical swamps and forests of both hemispheres, being most numerous in the American Continent. In its wild state, it lives almost exclusively on the leaves of trees ; its favourite feeding time being either early morning or after sunset. During the day time it either sleeps or lies down lazily. It always frequents the neighbourhood of water, in which it is fond of swimming and diving. At the time of our visit, we found the Malayan Tapir indulging in a swim in the tank attached to its enclosure, while the Columbian Tapir was quietly taking a siesta under the shade of a tree, and the Brazilian Tapir was standing listlessly in its den, as if afraid to venture into the broad daylight. We tried our best to induce it to leave its den and come out into the compound, but to no purpose, as it would not budge an inch from its habitation. The Tapirs are very shy and gentle in their habits. At present, five living species of Tapirs are known to Zoologists, which are very interesting an account of their remarkable geographical distribution, one of the species being found in the Malayana, while the other four inhabit the forest tracts of Tropical America and, in some cases, range high into the Andes Mountains. This discontinuous distribution is best accounted for by the evidence

available from geology, which shows that, at some former period of the world's history, the Tapirs were widely spread all over the intervening countries, through China, Kamtschatka, and North-West America. In fact, a fossil Tapir has been discovered in China, the teeth of which are in such a perfect state of preservation as to show that the Chinese species has become extinct only recently. The Malayan species bears a closer affinity to two of the American species than the latter do to their compatriots. The Tapir sometimes breeds in captivity, the female Brazilian Tapir in the London Zoological Gardens having given birth to a young one on the 12th February, 1882, and a female Malayan Tapir in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens having produced a young one on the 26th May, 1877, and again on the 24th October, 1883. The young of all the five species are marked with longitudinal stripes of yellow or white.

Then, retracing our steps towards the Burdwan House, we came to the large iron built cage which is at present tenanted by a pair of the great Condor of South America (*Sarcorhamphus gryphus*, Linn.), which have been recently acquired by the Committee and are now exhibited in the Alipore Menagerie for the first time. This grand bird of prey belongs to the order *Cathartidiformes*, to which the Turkey vultures of the New World belong. They differ from the Old World vultures by the possession of a very peculiar nostril, of which the septum or partition is perforated, so that it can be seen through. The hind toe is small, but is situated above the level of the other toes. The beak is also constricted at the end of the "cere," and the feathers have no after-shaft. This magnificent bird is the largest and most powerful of the Vulture family, though many of the stories about its size and strength are much exaggerated. The male Condor is about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet long, the female being slightly smaller. The expanse of its wing probably never exceeds twelve feet. Its general coloration is black with a steel-blue lustre, but some of the feathers are grayish. There is a downy white ruff all round the dull-red, naked neck. The beak is long, hooked at the culmen, black at the base, yellow at the point and on the sides. The head is bare of feathers, and in the male bird bears a large fleshy comb. The eyes look sideways; and its nose, as already stated, is perforated. The voice resembles a weak sort of snorting. The feet are not at all well adapted for grasping. The stories current about condors lifting their prey bodily from the ground with their feet appear to be pure myths. The condor has its home in the Andes of South America, but ranges to some other mountainous regions of the same Continent. It breeds on the heights of the mountains, laying two eggs on bare ledges in the months of November and December. Its



powers of flight are very great and display some curious phenomena which have been carefully observed and recorded by Mr. Darwin in his "*Naturalists' Journal*." The condor feeds on carrion, tearing carcasses of dead animals with its powerful beaks. It is very bold and sometimes attacks lambs and calves. It is very voracious. Tschudi mentions a condor, kept in captivity at Valparaiso, which consumed 18lbs of meat in a single day, and appeared the next morning to have as good an appetite as usual. The specimens in the Calcutta Gardens are in very fine plumage, but appears to be pining, as we found them sitting on the ground of their habitation silently, with no signs of activity in them.

Then, passing by the Ezra House, we cross the bridge and proceed to the Jheend House, which at present contains various species of birds.

The eastern compartment of the Jheend House contains, among other birds, a specimen of the Himalayan Whistling-Thrush (*Myiophoneus temmincki*, Vig.), which is new to the collection. This bird is about  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and lives in the Himalayas, from the Hazara country and Gilgit to the Daphla Hills in Assam; the hills south of Assam, Cachar, Manipur, Arrakan, and probably the whole country west of the Irrawaddy river; Karennee and the Karen hills, and in Afghanistan and Turkestan also. It is a very handsomely-colored bird, the lores and base of its forehead being black, the forehead higher up bright cobalt-blue; the whole plumage-blue having each feather tipped with glistening-blue; wings and tail overlaid with cobalt-blue on the outer webs; lesser wing-coverts black, having broad margins of glistening cobalt-blue; and the median wing-coverts tipped with white. Its bill is yellow, the culmen and the base of the upper mandible being blackish. Its iris is brown, feet and claws black. The young ones of this species have the upper plumage and wings dull-blue without being tipped with glistening-blue, and the whole of the lower plumage dull-black, and the tail like that of the adult. This handsome bird haunts the neighbourhood of mountain rivulets and hill streams, where it delights in perching on rocks and snags and likes to feed on snails very much. So great is its avidity for the latter article of diet that oftentimes large numbers of the shells are found heaped together on the ground where it has been in the habit of breaking up and consuming them. During the summer months, it ascends to an altitude of 11,000 feet; but during the cold weather it leaves its haunts higher up in the mountains and comes down to lower heights and even to the plains. It is said that it has not its permanent habitat in Cachar, but visits that part of the country only during the

cold weather months. It whistles loudly, but, at the same time, very prettily. It breeds from April to June and constructs a massive, cup-shaped nest of roots and moss in the crevice of a rock, or in the root of some upturned tree in the river-bed, near or under a water fall. It lays from three to five eggs, measuring 1.42 by 1, which are of a pale-grey or green colour, speckled with pink and brown. This bird is known by the name of *Kastura* to the hill people inhabiting the North-Western Himalayas.

Then, leaving the Jheend House, we walk along the path that winds prettily over the undulating ground past the Duck-House and proceed towards the Rodents'-House, wherein the Committee's collection of Rodents, or gnawing animals, live. In the south-western cage of this house dwells at present a specimen of the Peguan Tree-shrew of Burma (*Tupaia peguana*, Lesson). This is one of the two specimens purchased by the Committee in 1895-96.

The Tree-shrews belong to the order of animals known as the Insectivora, or Insect-eaters, to which the hedge-hog, shrew, and mole also belong. All the members of this Order are dull and inconspicuously coloured animals of small size which feed mainly on worms and larvæ, often burrowing into the ground for them, and sometimes on beetles or other insects, hunting for them in the grass and underwood. Some species climb trees to seek after their prey. The majority of animals of this Order are purely animal-feeders. These insect-eating animals are so notorious for their voracity that cases are known of both moles and shrews in which two individuals kept in the same cage have attacked each other, the winner in the contest eating up the whole carcase of his opponent with the exception of its skin. They require constant feeding, and, if they do not get any food for three or four hours, they are said to succumb at once. These animals are found all over the world, with the exception of South America and Australia.

There are two varieties of Peguan Tree-shrew, the Northern, or Burmese race, which is a rather yellowish brown in colour, (but the coloration of the specimen at the Calcutta Zoo is iron-grey) being distinguished as the *Tupaia peguana* (Syn: *T. belangeri*); while the variety found in the Malayan Peninsula and Islands, which is said to be of a deep rusty brown, is designated as *T. ferruginea*. The former race is distributed throughout Burma, extending to Assam, and along the lower spurs of the Himalayas, as far west as Nepal. The latter variety is found in the Malayan Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and Borneo.

The Peguan Tree-shrew resembles a squirrel in both appearance and habits, the only differentiating characteristic being



the former's somewhat elongated snout. It is said to feed on various insects and to a certain extent on fruit. Cantor, who kept several of these animals in captivity, says that, when feeding, they sit on their haunches, "holding their food between their fore-legs, and, after feeding, they smooth the head and face with both fore-paws, and lick the lips and palms." Recently Mr. Frank Finn, F. L. S., the accomplished Deputy Superintendent of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, kept a specimen of the *Tupaia ferruginea* in confinement and made with it some experiments connected with the theory of warning colours and protective mimicry. He records that his specimen "was fed on boiled rice, fruit (plantain) and cooked meat, and that it used its fore-paws to hold the insects it ate, after the manner of a squirrel." As the result of his experiments, of which an account has been published by him in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1897, Part II, No. 2, pp. 529-532, he found that the *Tupaia* has a very strong objection to the "protected" *Danainae* and *Papilio aristolochiae* as it so constantly refused them, and that in the case of the former absolutely, unlike the Babblers dealt with in his first paper (*J. A. S. B.* 1895, Part II, p. 344), which birds, caged under much the same conditions, generally showed their dislike of the *Danainae* merely by preferring other species." The call of the Tree-shrew is a "short, peculiar, tremulous whistling sound," and, when angry, it is said to utter "shrill protracted cries." The female is said to give birth to one young one at a time. It is easily tamed. Mr. Finn records that his specimen, "from its tameness and keenness after insects, was a very satisfactory subject to observe."

In the published Report of the Honorary Committee for the management of the Zoological Garden for 1895-96, the following animals, which are altogether new to the collection, are mentioned as having been acquired during that year, but could not be found by me, notwithstanding a careful search, in the houses in the gardens which are open to the public. Most probably they have died since their arrival in the gardens.

Scientific name of Animal.	English name of Animal.	Habitat of the Animal.	How obtained.
<b>MAMALS.</b>			
1. <i>Colobus ursinus</i> ( <i>Ogilby</i> ) ...	Ursine Colobus ...	West Africa ...	By exchange.
1. <i>Genetta tigrina</i> ( <i>Schreb</i> ) ...	Blotched Genet ...	Somali Coast ...	Obtained through the good offices of Captain Cox.
2. <i>Otocyon megalotis</i> ( <i>Desm</i> ) ...	Long-eared Fox ...	Do. ...	Do.
2. <i>Phacochoerus æthiopicus</i> ( <i>Pall</i> ) ...	Aethiopian Wart-Hog ...	Do. ...	Do.
<b>BIRDS.</b>			
2. <i>Pomatorhinus schisticeps</i> ( <i>Hodgs</i> ) ...	Slaty-headed scimitar Babbler ...	Himalayas ...	Purchased.
2. <i>Pomatorhinus ruficollis</i> ( <i>Hodgs</i> ) ...	Rufous-necked scimitar Babbler ...	Do. ...	Do.
2. <i>Siva cyanoptera</i> ( <i>Hodgs</i> ) ...	Blue-winged Siva ...	Africa ...	Presented by F. Finn, Esq.
2. <i>Nescanthus eminentissimus</i> ( <i>Bp.</i> ) ...	.....	Do. ...	Purchased.
1. <i>Harpactes hodgsoni</i> ( <i>Blyth</i> ) ...	Red-headed Trogon ...	Himalayas ...	Do.
1. <i>Botaurus stellaris</i> ( <i>Linn</i> ) ...	Bittern ...	India ...	Presented by F. Finn, Esq.
2. <i>Rhynchoeca capensis</i> Reptiles ( <i>Linn</i> ) ...	Snipe ...	Do. ...	Do.
4. <i>Mabuia carinata</i> ( <i>Bonleng</i> ) ...	.....	Do. ...	Purchased.
1. <i>Simotes violaceus</i> ( <i>Cantor</i> ) ...	.....	Do. ...	Do.
1. <i>Simotes arvensis</i> ( <i>Shaw</i> ) ...	.....	Do. ...	Do.
2. <i>Helicops schistosus</i> ( <i>Daud</i> ) ...	.....	Do. ...	Do.

Of the above-mentioned animals, the pair each of the Long-eared Fox and the Aethiopian Wart-hog were procured from



Somaliland through the good offices of Captain P. T. Cox, Assistant Resident, Berbera, but they unfortunately died within a few months after their arrival in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, as will appear from the following extract from the Committee's Report for 1895-96 :—

"The Committee are much beholden to Captain P. T. Cox, Assistant Resident, Berbera, for his commendable zeal and interest in procuring a variety of East African animals for the garden. In May 1895, he despatched a consignment consisting of one Cheeta, one Beisa Antelope, one Lesser Koodoo (*Strepsiceros imberbis*), two Sæmmerring's Gazelle (*Gazella sæmmerringi*, Cretzschm), two Wart-Hogs, two Long-eared Foxes, two Striped Mongooses, and two Giant Tortoises, in charge of a keeper, who was specially deputed to receive them. Of these, the Beisa Antelope, the Lesser Koodoo, and the Gazelles died on board the steamer; the rest, with the exception of the Tortoises, within a few months after their arrival. Captain Cox, in regretting his disappointment at his inability to send a larger consignment, complained that it was "heart-breaking work trying to collect the animals, owing to the great mortality among those captured." From January to May, 1895, he had managed to secure not less than fifty antelopes, large and small, of various kinds; but they all died. He could never discover what killed the young animals, as they were always "easy to manage, and had everything in their favour—lots of milk, grass, and roomy garden to run about." It was probably the "muggy coast climate," he thought, that caused their death. "Full-grown animals," he wrote, "snared by the native hunters I employed, invariably pined and died at once, and in many cases I found, on making a *post-mortem*, that they had broken a rib or injured themselves internally when struggling in the noose." The Committee have thought it desirable to enter upon these details to show how their best endeavours to enrich the collection are often frustrated by causes over which they and other friends of the institution have no control."

As regards the Red-headed Trogon, the Committee write : "However common the bird may be in the forest-clad hills of Sikkim, Assam, and the Malabar Coast, a Red-headed Trogon (*Harpactes hodgsoni*) rarely thrives in captivity, owing chiefly to the difficulty of feeding it. The Committee, therefore, congratulated themselves upon securing a specimen of this beautiful bird, which, for some time at least, gave promise of bearing captivity well. But, accustomed to feed upon various kinds of coleopterous insects in its wild state, the sameness of its food necessarily confined to grasshoppers and cockroaches, evidently disagreed with it, and it died from the effects of gastric irritation."

The following is a synoptical list of the mammals, birds, and reptiles described above, arranged according to their orders, families, genera and species :—

CLASS MAMMALIA.

ORDER QUADRUMANA.

FAMILY CERCOPITHECIDÆ.

GENUS COLOBUS.

1. *Colobus Ursinus*, (*Ogilby*). Ursine Colobus.  
Hab. West Africa.

FAMILY CEBIDÆ.

GENUS CEBUS.

2. *Cebus hypoleucus*, (*Humb*). White throated Capuchin.  
Hab. Central America.

ORDER LEMURES.

FAMILY LEMURIDÆ.

SUB-FAMILY LEMURINÆ.

GENUS LEMUR.

3. *Lemur albifrons*, (*Geoffr*). White-fronted Lemur.  
Hab. Madagascar.

ORDER CARNIVORA.

FAMILY VIVERRIDÆ.

GENUS GENETTA.

4. *Genetta tigrina*, (*Schreb*). Blotched Genet.  
Hab. Somali Coast.

FAMILY CANIDÆ.

GENUS OTOCYON.

5. *Otocyon megalotis* (*Desm*). Long-eared Fox.  
Hab. Somali Coast.

ORDER INSECTIVORA.

FAMILY TUPAIIDÆ.

GENUS TUPAIA.

6. *Tupaia peguana* (*Lesson*). Peguan Tree-Shrew.  
Hab. Burmah.

ORDER UNGULATA.

SUB-ORDER PERISSODACTYLA.

FAMILY TAPIRIDÆ.

GENUS TAPIRUS.

7. *Tapirus americanus* (*Gamel*). Brazilian Tapir.  
Hab. South America.
8. *Tapirus roulini* (*Fischer*). Hairy Tapir.  
Hab. Columbia.

SUB-ORDER ARTIODACTYLA.

FAMILY CERVIDÆ.

SUB-FAMILY CERVINÆ.

GENUS CERVUS.

9. *Cervus Elaphus* (*Linn*). Red Deer.  
Hab. Europe.

GENUS CARIACUS.

10. *Cariacus punctulatus* (*Gray*). Guatemalan Deer.  
Hab. Guatemala.

FAMILY PHACOCHÆRIDÆ.



## GENUS PHACOCHÆRUS.

11. *Phacochoerus æthiopicus* (*Pall.*). Aethiopian-Wart Hog.  
Hab. Somali Coast.

## CLASS AVES.

## ORDER PASSERES.

## FAMILY CRATEROPODIDÆ.

## SUB-FAMILY CRATEROPODINÆ.

## GENUS POMATORHINUS.

1. *Pomatorhinus schisticeps* (*Hodgs.*). Slaty-headed Scimitar Babbler.  
Hab. Himalayas.  
2. *Pomatorhinus ruficollis* (*Hodgs.*). Rufous-necked Scimitar Babbler.  
Hab. Himalayas.

## SUB-FAMILY BRACHYPTERYGINÆ.

## GENUS MYIOPHONEUS.

3. *Myiophoneus temmincki* (*Vig.*). Himalayan Whistling-Thrush.  
Hab. Himalayas.

## GENUS SIVA.

4. *Siva cyanoptera* (*Hodgs.*). Blue-winged Siva.  
Hab. Himalayas.

## FAMILY PARADISEIDÆ.

## GENUS PARADISEA.

5. *Paradisea minor* (*Shaw*). Lesser Bird of Paradise.  
Hab. New Guinea.

## ORDER TROGONES.

## FAMILY TROGONIDÆ.

## GENUS HARPACTES.

6. *Harpactes hodgsoni* (*Blyth*). Red-headed Trogon.  
Hab. Himalayas.

## ORDER ACCIPITRES.

## FAMILY CATHARTIDÆ.

## GENUS SARCORHAMPHUS.

7. *Sarcorhamphus gryphus* (*Linn.*). Condor.  
Hab. South America.

## ORDER HERODIONES.

## FAMILY ARDEIDÆ.

## GENUS BOTAURUS.

8. *Botaurus stellaris* (*Linn.*). Bittern.  
Hab. India.

## ORDER GALLINÆ.

## FAMILY PHASIANIDÆ.

## GENUS RHIZOTHERA.

9. *Rhizothera longirostris* (*Temm.*). Long-billed Francolin.  
Hab. Malayan Peninsula.

## ORDER LIMICOLÆ.

## FAMILY CHARADRIIDÆ.

## GENUS ESACUS.

10. *Esacus recurvirostris* (*Cuv.*). Large Stone Plover.  
Hab. India.

## FAMILY SCOLOPACIDÆ.

GENUS RHYNCHAEA.

11. *Rhynchaea Capensis* (*Linn*). Painted Snipe.  
Hab. India.

CLASS REPTILIA.

ORDER SQUAMATA.

SUB-ORDER LACERTILIA.

FAMILY SCIUCIDÆ.

GENUS MABUIA.

1. *Mabuia carinata* (*Bouleng*).  
Hab. India.

SUB-ORDER OPHIDIA.

FAMILY COLUBRIDÆ.

SUB-FAMILY COLUBRINÆ.

GENUS SIMOTES.

2. *Simotes violaceus* (*Cantor*).  
Hab. India.  
3. *Simotes arvensis* (*Shaw*).  
Hab. India.

GENUS HELICOPS.

4. *Helicops schistosus* (*Daua*).  
Hab. India.

FAMILY CROTALIDÆ.

GENUS CROTALUS.

5. *Crotalus horridus* (*Linn*). Horrid Rattlesnake.  
Hab. Nicaragua.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

26th October, 1897.

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#### ART. XIV.—HUMAYUN IN PERSIA.

**H**UMAYUN'S adventures in Persia form an interesting chapter in the history of the Moghul dynasty. When he had been twice defeated by Sher Khan, and so had come to perceive that the Afghan was a swordsman altogether too strong for him, he took refuge in Scinde and wandered about there for over two years. The only good thing that this sojourn brought him was his marriage with Hamida Banu, a lady sprung from a saintly Persian family, and who, perhaps in tribute to her gentleness and placidity, received the title of the "Dweller with Mary." It was she who, in the midst of distress and poverty, and when her husband was away on one of his futile expeditions, gave birth, at Amarkot, to the Emperor Akbar.\* But even this event did not wholly rouse Humayun out of his despondency, and we find him afterwards seriously thinking of giving up the struggle and retiring to Mecca to live there as a dervish. According to the historian he relinquished this idea out of consideration for his followers, but probably the consciousness of his own instability of character had something to do with it. Humayun was not a man who ever followed a decided course, and he was all his life the sport of circumstances. His return to India, which was the most striking thing he ever did, was probably more due to Bairam Khan than to his own energy.

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\* Abul Fazl tells a pretty story about this event. It seems that Humayun, a great believer in astrology and an adept in the use of the astrolabe, had left his astrologer in attendance on Hamida in order that he might catch the exact moment of birth and calculate the horoscope accordingly. Hamida was taken ill in the middle of the night, and it was announced to the astrologer, who, perhaps, was watching the heavens, or possibly was asleep, that the labour pains had begun and that the birth was momentarily expected. He came in great trepidation, for the hour was inauspicious, and asked if the birth could not by any possibility be postponed, especially as there was, a little ahead, a propitious hour such as might not happen again in a thousand years. But the women were not willing that their mistress should be tortured in the way that the Bengali Queen, the widow of Lachman Sein, was treated who, under similar circumstances, was put up by the heels for two hours, with the result that she herself died and her son ruined his dynasty. They therefore scoffed at the astrologer and said that such things were beyond control. Just then the village-midwife entered the room, and she, poor soul, was so hideously ugly that the girl Queen got a "scunner", as the Scotch would say, at the sight of her and fell, exhausted by her sufferings, into a deep slumber. And now a fresh trouble arose to perplex the astrologer. What if she remained in this sleep till the fortunate moment passed away? Could they not rouse her, he asked. Her maidens declined to do so, she had already suffered so much; but just at that moment the pains revived, Hamida awoke, and Akbar came into the world.

Those who may be inclined to marvel at Humayun's and Abul Fazl's credulity should remember that, according to Voltaire, an astrologer was concealed, about a century afterwards, for a similar purpose, near the bedchamber of Anne of Austria, when she was about to give birth to Lewis 14th.

When Humayun could find no rest for the sole of his foot either in Scinde or in Rajputana, he proceeded to Afghanistan, in the hope of rejoining his brothers. But they had no wish for his presence and did not hold out any helping hand to him. On the contrary, they laid a plot to seize him and put him under restraint. He only just escaped by making a hurried flight from the neighbourhood of Quettah; and had to leave his infant son behind him. His wife and he, attended by about twenty followers, had a perilous journey across Baluchistan, but eventually arrived at Sijistan where they were hospitably received by the Persian officers. He now resolved to throw himself upon the mercy of the King of Persia and had addressed him a letter in which there was a couplet referring to his sufferings by hill and stream and desert, and intimating that these had now passed away. Not that his mind could really have been at rest. He had escaped from the desert and from his brothers; but the descendant of Timur and of a line of kings must have felt humiliated by having to implore the aid of Tahmāsp who was a younger man than himself, and whose dynasty was but of yesterday. He must have felt, too, that it was very doubtful how an ardent Shia, such as Tahmāsp was, would receive one who prided himself on being a Sunni. He probably knew also that his father, Babar, bore no good name among the Persians, who considered that he had deserted them at Ghajdiwan and had left thousands of their countrymen to be butchered by the Uzbeks. Altogether, Humayun's feelings must have been somewhat like those of Mary Queen of Scots when she passed over into England. Still his nature was such that he could not help trying to enjoy himself; and so, while waiting in Sijistan, which is the classic land of Rustum, he amused himself hawking water-fowl (*qashqaldāgh*, *i. e.*, coots). At length a gracious reply seems to have arrived from Tahmāsp, and Humayun proceeded towards his court, though by the roundabout route of Herat and Mashhad. It was to the Governor of Herat, and the tutor of his young son, that Tahmāsp addressed the following letter, in which he conveys the most elaborate orders for Humayun's reception. The letter is very long, and in parts not easy of interpretation, but it is such a curious mixture of "picknikitiness" and genuine good feeling, and it throws so much light on eastern manners, that I think it deserves publication. It is pleasant to see that Tahmāsp did not confine his injunctions to the making his fellow sovereign Humayun comfortable, but was equally solicitous for the well-being of the unfortunate servants.

The letter occurs in the first volume of the *Akbarnāma*.



ORDER (FARMAN) OF SHAH TAHMASP TO THE  
GOVERNOR OF KHURASAN.

The august order was promulgated, that the asylum of dominion and workshop of Majesty, son of power and prestige, Muhammad Khān<sup>1</sup> Sharafaddīn Ughli Taklū, tutor<sup>2</sup> of our precious and upright son,<sup>3</sup> Governor of Herat, the seat of sovereignty, and Mīr Diwān,<sup>4</sup> who hath been exalted by divers royal bounties and benefits, might know that the contents of his report, lately despatched to the court, the asylum of glory, through Kamāladdīn Shāh Quli Beg, the asylum of nobility and brother of Qara Sultan Shamlū,<sup>5</sup> arrived on 12th Zihajja<sup>6</sup> (8th March 1544), and that its distinguished purport has become known and understood from beginning to end.

As to what has been written concerning the approach of the fortunate Vicegerent (Nawwāb-i-Kāmzāl), sphere-rider sun-cupola, pearl of success and sovereignty's ocean, goodly tree ornamenting the garden of government and world-sway, world-illuminating light of the portico of sovereignty and glory, soaring cypress of the stream of auspiciousness and fortune, aromatic tree of glory and Majesty's rose-garden, fruit of the tree of the Caliphate and of justice, king of the two seas (Barīn-ū-Behrīn), world-warming sun of felicity's heaven, exalted full-moon of the zenith of the Caliphate and world-rule, altar and exemplar of just princes, greatest and best of

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann, 426, and Maasir-ul-Umara I. 507, under title of Jāfar Khan.

<sup>2</sup> Lala. Blochmann, 426, remarks that the word does not occur in our dictionaries. Apparently it is a form of lāla, meaning a major domo, tutor, &c. Wollaston gives both lāla and lallah, s. v. tutor, but marks the last as vulgar.

<sup>3</sup> Sultan Muhammad Mīrzā, eldest son of Tahmāsp, and often called Muhammad Khudabanda. He became king in 1578, but was a weak and unworthy ruler and soon disappeared. See Oliver, I. A. S. B., Vol. 56, for 1887, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently a translation of the Turkish title Beglerbegi which occurs in the letter as given in B. M. M. S., Or. 4678.

<sup>5</sup> According to Malcolm, Shāmlū means a son of Syria and refers to the fact that the tribe was brought from Syria by Timur.

<sup>6</sup> Price points out that there is a difficulty about this date for A. F. describes Humayun as reaching Herat on 1 Zilqadda, or about 1½ months before Muhammad Khan's letter was received by Tahmāsp. He suggests that the names of the months should be transposed. Probably the date in A. F.'s copy of the letter is altogether wrong, and the true date is that given in B. M. M. S. Or. 4678, viz., Tuesday, 5th Shawwāl 950, 1st January, 1544. In the copy there given Tahmāsp describes himself as answering the letter on the same day. It was brought to Tahmāsp by Hasan Beg Taklū. Humayun wrote to Tahmāsp, according to A. F., on Thursday 1st Shawwāl, 950, and probably Muhammad Khan, the governor of Herat, would write about the same time to his master. If Thursday was 1st Shawwāl, however, the following Sunday would be the 6th, not the 5th, unless we count, as the Mahomedans do, from sunset to sunset.

the Khāqāns, the lords of Majesty, high-born sovereign of supremacy's throne, exalted king of the kingdom of the dispensation of justice, Khāqān of Alexander type, glorious potentate, an enthroned Sultan, lord of guidance and conviction, world-guardian, lord of diadem and divan (taj-u-takht), Saheb Qirān (lord of conjunction) of the world of fortune and prestige, crowning diadem of famous Khāqāns, the Aided by God, Defender of the Faith (Nasīrūddīn) Muhammad Humayun Pādshāh. May the Almighty grant him greatness in accordance with desire until the last day !

How may it be told what joy and delight have been caused by this

#### VERSE.

Good is the news, O cousin of the morn,<sup>6</sup> that thou bringest of the friend's advent.

May thy news be true, O thou in all places the friend's intimate,  
May that day come when, in the feast of meeting,  
I may sit, having my heart's desire, breathing in unison with the friend !

Recognising that the untroubled progress and approach of this king, the messenger of honour, are a great boon, be it known that, in guerdon of the glad tidings, we have bestowed the territory of Sabzwar<sup>7</sup> on that asylum of dominion (*i.e.*, Humayun) from the beginning of Aries<sup>8</sup> of the year of the Hare. Let him send his dārōgha and vizier there, that the regular revenue and the extraordinary civil receipts thereof may be perceived from the beginning of the current year, and be expended for the requirements of the victorious troops and his own necessities. Having acted, paragraph by paragraph, and day by day, in accordance with the procedure set forth in this edict (Nishān), let there be no remissness concerning the paramount instructions.

Let him appoint five hundred prudent and experienced men, each of whom shall have a led<sup>9</sup> horse, a riding mule, and the

<sup>6</sup> Šaba, rising, also east wind, perhaps used here because Humayun was then in eastern Persia, and Tahmāsp was in the west, in Qazwīn.

<sup>7</sup> A town in Khurāsān, West of Nishāpūr and between Mashhad and the Caspian. Blochmann, 552, and Jarrett III, 85. But there is also a Sabzwār, S. of Herat, and perhaps this is the place meant, especially as Humayun would pass through it on his way to Herat.

<sup>8</sup> The text has, amal, but the Lucknow edition and three MSS. B. M. have hamal, and this seems correct. The Turkish, or Aighurian, cycle seems to have been used in official documents, &c., and began in Aries, as also did the Persian year. Taweshqān, or the year of the Hare, was the fourth of the cycle. Jarret II, 21.

<sup>9</sup> Asp-i-Kutāl. Kutāl, or Kūtal, is used to mean a second or substituted article, *vide*, Blochmann 109, 115. The Bahār-i-'Ajam explains it, when applied to horses, as meaning an animal strong enough to form part of the procession before a king's carriage, a processional horse in short. Such horses formed part of the *istiqbāl* which met the Persian-Afghan Mission on its approach to Mashhad. Eastern Persia : by Goldsmid and others. Macmillan : 1876 p. 357.



necessary accoutrements, that they may go forth to meet the king, the lord of fortune, with one hundred swift horses which have been sent from the sublime court for the use of His Majesty, together with golden saddles, and let the asylum of dominion select from his own stables six swift horses, quiet, of good colour, and strong, and such as may be fit for the riding of that royal cavalier of the field of glory and success, and let him place on them azure and embroidered saddles, with housings of gold brocade and gold thread, such as may befit the riding-horses of that majestic king, and let him make over each horse to two of his own servants, and despatch them. A splendid, special side-dagger ornamented with exquisite jewels which came to us from the fortunate vicegerent, the pardoned prince of sublime seat, the king our father—May God make his proof clear!—together with a golden scimitar (*shamshēr*) and a jewelled girdle, have been sent to the Alexander-principled king, for victory and conquest, and good augury. Four hundred pieces of velvet and satin from Europe and Yezd have been sent, so that one hundred<sup>10</sup> and twenty coats may be made for the king's special use, and that the remainder may be for the servants attached to the victorious stirrup of that fortunate prince; also two-pile gold-brocaded velvet carpets and coverlets (*namad*<sup>11</sup> *takīya*) of goats hair with satin lining, and three pairs of large carpets twelve cubits (square?), four *Gōshkānī*<sup>12</sup> of fine silk, and twelve sheets, scarlet, green and white, have been sent. May they arrive safely!

Let arrangements be made day by day for sweet and pleasant drinks, with white loaves kneaded with milk and butter and seasoned with fennel seeds and poppy seeds. Let them be well made and be sent to His Majesty. Let them also be sent for each member of his staff and for his other servants. Be it also arranged that at the places where His Majesty will halt, there be arranged and pitched, the day previous, cleansed, pleasant, white, embroidered tents and awnings of silk and velvet, and also pantries and kitchens and all their necessary out-offices, so that every requisite apparatus be in readiness. When he, in his glory and fortune, shall direct a

<sup>10</sup> 120 were perhaps intended as a supply for a twelve month, cf., Blochmann, 90, where it is stated that Akbar had 120 suits in his wardrobe, made up into twelve bundles.

<sup>11</sup> Blochmann, 55 and 96, where it is written *takīya namad*.

<sup>12</sup> *Gōshkān*, or *Joshaqan*, a town half-way between *Kāshān* and *Ispahan*, famous for carpets, Blochmann, 552.

<sup>13</sup> *Kurgī*, *kurk*, or *kurg*, is the fine short wool of the goat, nearest the skin. It also means fur, Blochmann, 616.

halt, let rose-water, sherbet and wholesome lemon-juice be made and poured out, after having been cooled with snow and ice. After the sherbet let conserves of Maskān<sup>14</sup> apples of Mashhad, water-melons, grapes, &c., with white loaves made as already directed, be tendered, and let care be taken that all the beverages be brought to the notice of His Majesty, and that rose-water and grey ambergris be added to them. Each day let five hundred dishes of varied food be presented, together with the beverages. Let the asylum of dominion, Qazzāq<sup>15</sup> Sultan, and the acme of nobility, Jāfar Sultan, together with your (other?) descendants and your clan to the number of one thousand persons, go forth to offer welcome three days after the five hundred shall have set out. And during those three days let the said officers and the various troops be inspected. Be careful to give your servants Tipūcah and Arab horses, for there is no finer decoration for a soldier than a good horse, and let the uniforms of the one thousand be coloured and smart. And be it arranged that, when the officers come to wait upon His Majesty, they kiss the ground of service and honour with the lip of respect and render their service one by one. Be it seen to that, on the occasion of riding, &c., there be no altercation between the officer's servants and His Majesty's, and that no annoyance of any kind happen to the king's servants. During the time of riding and of marching let the officers remain with the troops and serve the king from a distance, but at the time of being on guard<sup>16</sup>, let each officer display his alacrity in the vicinity of the (king's) quarters which shall have been fixed, and let them, having taken in their hands the staffs of service, serve in the manner that one would serve his own king, and let them adopt and bring into practice the utmost attentiveness. Let this mandate be shown to the governor of every territory to which he may come, and care be taken that that officer render his service. Let entertainments be so conducted that the total of the food, sweetmeats and liquids be not less than 1,500 dishes. The service of, and attendance in the asylum of sovereignty, will be in charge of the asylum of dominion up to Mashhad, the pure and holy. And when the officers aforesaid come to serve, every day there will be produced in the sublime banquet of that king 1,200 dishes of varied food, such as may be fit for a royal table. And

<sup>14</sup> Mashkān in text, the editors suggest mashkīn, but according to Bahār. Ajam, mashkān is the name of a kind of apple grown in Tūs, *i. e.* Mashhad.

<sup>15</sup> Qazzāq Sultan was Muhammad Khan's son, and Jāfar was his grandson. Qazzāq, called in the Maasir Qazzāq Khan, rebelled against Tahmāsp in 972, and his son Jāfar emigrated to India, Blochmann, 426.

<sup>16</sup> Kashak or Kashik.



let each of the aforesaid officers, on the day when he is host, tender a present of nine horses, of which three will be for the king's special use, one for the Chief Amir Muhammed Bairām Khan Bahadur, and the five others for such of the select officers as may be fitting. Let all nine horses be produced for his auspicious inspection,<sup>17</sup> and mention which of them are for the fortunate Nawwāb, and also mention which is for such and such an officer, that having been previously arranged by you, for such statement, though it may appear improper, is right and will not seem wrong; but by every possible means keep the servants in attendance pleased, and show the utmost sympathy and assiduity. Soothe the hearts of this body of men, which have been clouded somewhat by the revolutions of unequal fate, by affection and sympathy, as is proper and pleasing at such seasons. Continue this practice throughout till they come to our presence. Thereafter, what is proper will be executed by ourselves. After food has been partaken of, let sweetmeats and comfits<sup>18</sup> prepared from candy (qand) and refined sugar (nabāt), and various conserves, and rishta-i-khaṭāi<sup>19</sup> (Chinese threads), which shall have been perfumed with rose-water, musk<sup>20</sup> and grey<sup>21</sup> ambergris, be brought in. The governor of the province<sup>22</sup> (wilāyet) after performing the duties of service and hospitality, shall put his mind at ease about his province, and escort (His Majesty) up to Herat, the capital, not omitting the most minute points of service and attendance. When he shall arrive at twelve farsakhs from the said province,<sup>23</sup> the asylum of dominion will have one of his experienced officers<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Possibly the meaning is that Munammad Khan should inspect them, and not that they should be shown to Humayun.

<sup>18</sup> Pālūda or fālūda, the same as halwā, except that the sūjī is boiled in milk. Heiklots. App.

<sup>19</sup> China or Cathay threads, apparently resembling vermicelli. See Vullers II, 39, and Behār-i-'Ajem Steingass says they are a kind of paste lozenges eaten in soup, but this hardly agrees with the long description, quoted by Vullers. They were made of rice flour, were very thin, like silk threads and were flavoured with almonds, pistachios, rose water, &c. In the B. M. Sloane, 4093, Rein. I, 391a, which is a similar letter of Ṭahmāsp, but addressed to Alī Qulī Khan Shāmla, the governor of Sīstān, the expression rishta-khaṭai is not used, but we have the apparently nearly synonymous phrase āsh māhicha, *vide* Vullers 1132a.

<sup>20</sup> The musk here referred to seems to be a vegetable product.

<sup>21</sup> 'Ambar ashhal. This was the best kind, Blochmann 78.

<sup>22</sup> Probably a general order for the governors of all the provinces passed through.

<sup>23</sup> Apparently the meaning is when Humayun arrives within 12 leagues, or about 50 miles, of the city of Herat.

<sup>24</sup> Uīmāq. Blochmann 3712, where it is stated that the word was originally the name of a Turkish tribe. See also Jarrett, II, 4012 4 and III, 1172, the meaning here seems to be a confidential subordinate. Is Imāq the right reading? Shaw gives this as meaning a confidential servant.

in charge of our dear and excellent son, that he may take care of the city and wait on the son. The remainder of the victorious army from the city and province, and its boundaries, consisting of the Hazāras,<sup>25</sup> Nihodāris and others, to the number of thirty thousand, which number must be exact, shall go forth with the asylum of dominion to offer welcome. Tents, awnings and necessary furnitures will be conveyed by strings of camels and mules, so that a well-ordered camp may come under the king's auspicious glance. When he is honoured by attendance on His Majesty he will, before making any other remarks, convey to him many prayers for his welfare on behalf of ourselves. And on the same day that he be distinguished by service he will halt in accordance with the rules (tuzuk) and regulations of an army in camp. The asylum of dominion, when he has come on duty, will request leave, in order that he may entertain His Majesty, and will establish himself for three days in those quarters. On the first day he will invest all his (Humayun's) troops with handsome khilāts of satin and brocade (kamkhāb) from Yezd, and of silk (Dārāihā) of Mashhad and Khāf, and let them all have velvet cloaks (bālapōsh,<sup>26</sup> and let there be given to every soldier and servant two Tabrizī tūmāns<sup>27</sup> for his daily expenses; and provide varied food in accordance with the rules already prescribed. And let there be a royal assemblage, so that tongues may speak in praise of it, and shouts of approbation reach the ears of mankind. Let there be made a list of his troops, and let it be sent to the sublime court. Let 2,500<sup>28</sup> Tabrizī tūmāns be taken from the funds of the Privy Purse which come to the said capital, and let them be spent for necessary purposes. Let the utmost zeal be displayed in service, and let the march from the said quarters to the city occupy four days, and let the entertainment of each day be the same as on the first. And it is proper that at every entertainment the honoured sons of the asylum of dominion bind, like servants and waiters, girdles of service on their loins and perform worshipful ministration, and that, in thanksgiving for such a king, who is a gift from the gifts of God, having become our guest, let them display the utmost alacrity in service, and do not let there be

<sup>25</sup> Jarrett II, 4012 4.

<sup>26</sup> The word also means a quilt, but here it probably means a cloak or upper garment.

<sup>27</sup> Wollaston, in App., says the tūmān is a gold coin worth about eight shillings, but that it used to be worth much more, and that in the time of Shah Abbas 1st it was worth £3. Jehāngīr, quoted by Blochmann, 486, makes the Persian tūmān about equal to Rs. 33. If so, it might be compared with a gold mohur.

<sup>28</sup> The M.S. has 10,500. The letter in Or. 4678 says that from first to last 10,000 tūmāns are to be expended.



any failure, for the more zeal and devotion that are displayed in respect of His Majesty, the more will be the approval by us. And on the day before he will reach the city let there be erected at the head of the avenue (*khiyābār*) of the *Bāgh Idgāh* tents with crimson satin on the inside, fine<sup>29</sup> linen between, and Ispahan muslin (*Miṣqālī*) on the top, which, during these days, was reported as being prepared. And let care be taken that at every place where His Majesty's gracious heart may take pleasure, and in every flower-garden that may be remarkable for its air, its streams, its amenities and delights, His Majesty be approached by you in an agreeable way, and with the hand of respect placed servantwise on the bosom, and that it be represented to him that that camp, and army and all its paraphernalia are a present (*peshkash*) to the fortunate *Nawwāb*. Also, while on the march, do you continually keep him pleased by conversation of a reassuring character. And do you yourself on the day before he will arrive at the city, leave that station after obtaining your dismissal, and proceed to serve our son. In the morning bring out the dear son from his residence for the purpose of giving a welcome. Put on him the suit which we sent him last year, or New Year's day, and having one of the grey-bearded confidential officers of the *Taklū* family (*Uymāq-i-Taklū*) who may be approved of and trusted to by the asylum of dominion, in the capital, mount the son on horseback. And, for the time that he is proceeding to the city, let the asylum of dominion place *Qazzāq* Sultan on duty (with Humayun), and let tents and camels and horses be left, so that, when the fortunate *Nawwāb* mounts his horse next day, the camp may also march, and let the aforesaid asylum of dominion (*Kuzzāq* Sultan) be the guide. When the son shall come out of the city strive that all the troops be mounted with the prescribed splendour, and that they proceed towards the welcoming. When near that king, the Court of Majesty, *viz.*, when the space intervening be an arrow's flight, let the asylum of dominion advance and beg the king not to dismount. If they agree, let him return immediately and dismount the happy son, and let him go quickly and kiss the thigh and stirrup of that King of Solomon's Court and show all the points of service and respect and honour which are possible. Should the fortunate *Nawwāb* not agree, and should he dismount, let the son dismount before him and do homage, and His Majesty having first mounted let him kiss the king's hand and proceed to mount our son, and proceeding on thus ride according to etiquette to the camp and the fixed quarters. And let the

<sup>29</sup> *Ṭaiyābī*. One MS. has *Ṭabaṣī*, *i. e.*, of the town of Tabas, and perhaps this is correct.

asylum of dominion be in attendance on the king, and close to the son, so that, if the king should put any questions to the son, and the son, out of bashfulness, be unable to reply, the asylum of dominion may make a proper reply. And in the questions aforesaid let that son show hospitality to the king according to this routine, *viz.*, at about 9 A. M. let 300 dishes of varied foods be at once presented by way of breakfast. Between the two prayers (at midday) let 1,200 courses of varied foods be presented on dishes generally known as Muhammad Khání, and also on other plates of porcelain, gold and silver, placing covers of gold and silver over the trays. After that, let sweet conserves, such as may be available, and sweetmeats and comfits—be presented. After that let seven handsome and good horses be taken from the son's stables, and velvet and satin trimmings be placed on them, with girths of fine linen woven with silk, and let white girths be placed on red and black girths on green velvet housings. It is proper that Hafiz Sabir Qáq, Mauláná Qásim Qánúní (harpist) Ustad Sháh Muhammad<sup>30</sup>, the hautbois player, Hafiz Dost Muhammad Kháfí, Ustad Yusuf Maudúd,<sup>30a</sup> and other famous singers and musicians who may be in the city, be always present, and whenever His Majesty desires it, may please him by singing and playing. And let every one from far and near who may be worthy of that assemblage be in attendance so that he may be present when called upon, and that they may by every possible means make his hours pleasant to him. Further let gerfalcons<sup>31</sup> (shanqár), saker<sup>32</sup> (caragh), sparrow hawks<sup>33</sup> (básha), royal<sup>34</sup> falcons (sháhin), peregrine<sup>35</sup> falcons (bahrí) and the like which may be in the son's establishment, or that of the asylum of dominion, or with his sons, be presented, and let all his servants have silk khiláts of every kind and colour suitable to each—coloured velvets, waved silks (khárá<sup>36</sup>) *takma*, *kalábattun*,<sup>37</sup> gold brocade. And on arrival at the quarters let his servants be brought before our son, and let him, with the munificent ways which are hereditary with him from his ancestors, give each of them food, a suit of clothes and a horse befitting his

<sup>30</sup> Blochmann, 613.

<sup>30a</sup> Maudúd. Apparently a *nom de plume* and meaning the beloved or the ecstatic from Wad.

<sup>31</sup> Also spelt shūnqān, the falco Hendersoni, Scully, App. 2, Shaw's vocabulary.

<sup>32</sup> The Saker, or Cherugh of Jerdon.

<sup>33</sup> Accipiter Nisus, it is the female.

<sup>34</sup> Falco peregrinator of Jerdon I, 25 ; it is the female.

<sup>35</sup> Scully l. c. See also list of hawks in Burnes' Travels, and the account of Hawking in the Ain, Blochmann, 293, *et seq.*

<sup>36</sup> Moírée antique, Blochmann, 924.

<sup>37</sup> Kálábatun of Blochmann, 914, who says it is a stuff with gold and silk threads.



condition, and let not the largesse (to each) exceed three tumáns. Also let twelve times nine pieces of silk, including velvet, satin, European and Yezdí kamkháb, and báfta shámí (Syrian cloth) and other choice materials (be taken), and let thirty hundred gold tumáns be taken out in thirty purses, together with the silk aforesaid, and let there be given to every soldier three Tabrízí tumáns, which are equal to 600 sháhí.<sup>38</sup> Let him spend three days in the Avenue and among the underground channels (kárízgáh). And order that, during these three days, various artificers make a chahar-tāq-báulí<sup>39</sup> from the gate of the Chahár Bágh which is a royal palace, to the Avenue which is in the Bágh Idgáh. And let one of the officers aforesaid be a coadjutor with each artificer, so that by their mutual interest every craft and excellent device may be executed. This is excellent that, as the king hath exalted this country by his distinguished advent, he should have first come to a city which is the light of the eyes of mankind. Let there then be brought before his alchemic eye genial and sweet-spoken persons, such as are in this city, so that he may have cause for cheerfulness. On the third day when your mind shall be at rest with regard to the Chahar-tāq, the City-Avenue, and the brightening up of the Chahar Bágh let heralds be appointed in the city, its wards, and the environs, and the neighbouring villages to proclaim that all the men and women of the city shall assemble on the morning of the fourth day in the Avenue (khīyābār), and in every shop and bazaar where carpets and cloths shall be spread in order, the women and maidens<sup>40</sup> will be seated, and, as is the rule in that city, the women will engage in pleasant<sup>40a</sup> sayings and doings with the comers and goers. And from every ward and lane let the masters of melody come forth, so that the like of it will not be seen in any other city of the world. And bid all their people come forth to offer welcome. After all this has been arranged, let the king be respectfully asked to put the foot of dominion in the stirrup of auspiciousness and to mount on horse back. Our son will proceed alongside of His Majesty, but so that the

<sup>38</sup> The sháhí is worth about a half penny, so that if the tūmán be reckoned at 8/- three would be about equal to 600 sháhí. The figures in the text are, however, doubtful.

<sup>39</sup> An erection with four domes ; a quadrangular tent, or canopy, apparently.

<sup>40</sup> Bēgha, *i. e.*, chiefs in text, but I take the word to be baikhā, *i. e.*, maidens from بیکه bīkha which P. de Courteille renders femme non mariée.

<sup>40a</sup> Dar maqām shīrīn kārī u shīrīn gūī darāīnd. One of the meanings of maqām is a musical tone, and kār and kārkhā are used by Babar to mean airs or melodies. See his Memoirs, Erskine 197 and 198, and notes. So possibly all that is meant here is that the women were to recite and sing to the passers by. Most likely, however, the word kārī refers to dancing. See Vambery's History of Bokhara, p. 242, note, where he describes a dance known as the Heratī.

head and neck of the latter's horse be in front<sup>40b</sup>. You, the asylum of dominion, will follow close behind, so that, if he should put any questions about the buildings, the palaces, and gardens, you may make suitable reply. And when he shall come with auspiciousness to the city, he will visit the Chahār Bāgh. And let him alight in the small garden which was made at the time of our residence in that delicious city for the purpose of our living there and of reading and writing, and which is at present known by the name of Bāgh Shāhī. And make the baths in the Chahār Bāgh white and clean, and also the other baths, and make them fragrant with rose water and musk, so that, whenever he is inclined, he may have a place for bodily repose.

On the first day our son will show hospitality with abundance of provisions, and when he shall have gone to his repose, you, the asylum of dominion, will display hospitality in the manner that will be described below. When he (Humayun) will come to the city, you will make a report on the same day and despatch it to the sublime court. And let it be arranged that Māzzādīn Husain Kalāntar (Magistrate), of Herat, appoint a good writer who is a man of experience, to write a full diary from the day that the 500 make the reception (istiqbāl) to the day that he comes to the city, and let it be sealed and despatched by the asylum of dominion, and let all the stories and remarks, good or bad, which pass in the assemblage, be reduced to writing and be sent by the hands of trusty persons, so that we<sup>41</sup> be fully informed of all that occurs.

The entertaining by the asylum of dominion will be as follows:—Three thousand dishes of food, sweetmeats, syrups (shīra) and fruits will be prepared, and the necessary furniture will be arranged as follows:—*First*, fifty tents and twenty awnings, and the large store-tent<sup>42</sup> which was reported to have been prepared for His Majesty's special use with twelve pairs of carpets of twelve cubits and ten cubits, and seven pairs of carpets of five cubits, nine strings of female camels, 250 porcelain plates, large and small, and other plates and pots all with bright covers, and also tinned (qalāī karde), and two strings of mules at the asylum of dominion present on the occasion of his entertainment; and let the officers conduct their entertainments as follows:—Let them present food, sweet-

<sup>40b</sup> The letter in B. M. M. S. Or. 467 is still more explicit. The head of the Prince's horse is to be on a line with Humayun's stirrup, and the head of the Tutor's horse on a line with the Prince's stirrup.

<sup>41</sup> The izāfat after ūza' in text seems wrong. By the phrase Nawwab Humayun-i-me Ṭahmāsp means himself. See text 207, l. 10.

<sup>42</sup> Chādar buzurg alābata. Qu. abtat or abtāt, Persian batāt, provisions. See Lane 148c. Perhaps it is what Abul Fazl calls in the Ain, Blochmann, 48, offices and workshops (būyūtāt).



meats and comfits to the extent of 1,500 plates, and also three horses, a string of camels and a string of mules, which shall have first been seen and approved by the asylum of dominion.

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FINIS.

Humayun's reception in Herat was worthy of the city, and such as might be expected after the above letter. Humayun was delighted with the place and spent many days in it. He had read his father's glowing account of the city, and, like him, he visited the public buildings and pleasure-grounds. From Herat he went on to Mashhad, taking Tarbat-i-Jām on the way, where he paid his respects to his own and his wife's ancestor, the celebrated Ahmad-i-Jam, known as the "Premier Elephant." At Mashhad, too, he performed his devotions, and then went westward by the northern border of Persia, travelling leisurely and visiting shrines, etc., on the way. When he first arrived in Persia, Tahmāsp was in Qazwīn, which was then a great city, lying about 90 m N. N. W. of Tehran. It figures much in the books of Persian historians and old European travellers, but now-a-days both it and its sovereign are chiefly interesting from being mentioned in "Paradise Lost." Humayun took so long on his journey that the hot weather set in and Tahmāsp left Qazwīn and went off to summer-quarters. It was in them, somewhere between Sultaniya and Abhar, that the two kings met. This was in July or August 1544, and more than six months after Humayun had entered Persian territory. Altogether Humayun's stay in Persia was for little more than a year, and but a small part of that period was spent in Tahmāsp's company. But it was the turning point of his fortunes.

The assistance which Tahmāsp gave him in men and money enabled him to take Qandahar in 1545, and this was the foundation of his future successes, just as the conquest of Kabul had been in his father's case. The Persians, therefore, are entitled to share in the credit of the restoration of the Moghul Empire, and of the career thereby furnished to the great Akbar. No doubt Tahmāsp was in some respects a narrow-minded precisian, and, like most kings, liable to gusts of passions and unworthy impulses. But then who bears a spirit wholly true to his ideal? Taken as a whole, Tahmāsp's treatment of his visitor was creditable to himself and to his nation, and may compare not unfavourably with Lewis XIV's reception of James II. The latter was more gentlemanly, perhaps; but it was certainly less effectual, and it should be remembered that James belonged to the same household of

faith as his host, and was a martyr to his principles, whereas Humayun was looked upon as a heretic, and perhaps as a pervert, for Timur, his first ancestor, had been a Shia. It appears that Tahmāsp was greatly influenced by his sister, Sultanam Khanam, who stood up for Humayun against her brother Bahrām Mirza. But this hardly lessens the credit due to Tahmāsp. If his sister spoke in Humayun's favour, his brother was keen against him and brought up the old story of Babar's treachery. Unfortunately Tahmāsp got but an ill-requital for his kindness to Humayun. Bahrām Mirza's warning came true, and Humayun kicked down the ladder as soon as he had mounted, just as Babar is said to have left the Persians in the lurch at the battle of Ghajdiwan.

Abul Fazl tells us that Humayun presented Tahmāsp with a large diamond and thereby repaid him more than twice over for all his expenditure on Humayun from the time of his entering Persia to the time of his leaving it. This is ungracious and very doubtful. If the diamond were really so valuable—and Abul Fazl says it was worth the revenue of kingdoms, and could have yielded enough to feed the whole world for half a day—and if it were a marketable commodity, why did not Humayun make use of it in that way, and raise an army by its means? The diamond had been in the hands of various possessors during several centuries without bringing them any particular good fortune. It had even belonged to an Aladdin; but he, though a Sultan, had not found its utility come up to that of the Genie's ring. At any rate Tahmāsp does not seem to have regarded the stone as of superlative value, for he sent it as a present to Nizam Shah the ruler of the Deccan. This fact, which, perhaps, has not been hitherto noticed, is recorded in a history by the Nizam Shah's ambassador to Persia. He tells us, in a MS. preserved in the British Museum, that the diamond weighed six and a half misqāls, and that Tahmāsp sent it by the hands of Aga Aslan, also called Mahtar Jamal. This is interesting, for the diamond which Humayun gave to Tahmāsp was the same as that described by Babar in his Memoirs as having been obtained in Agra, and which, according to him, weighed about eight misqāls. It is thus what is known as Babar's diamond, and the fact of its having found its way to the Deccan in the 16th century seems to identify it with the diamond which Tavernier saw in Aurangzeb's treasury. That, too, came from the Deccan, having been sent to Aurangzeb as a present by Mir Jamla. Is it not probable, indeed, that the fact of the diamond having belonged to Aurangzeb's ancestors may have been one reason why Mir Jamla sent it to him? If, then, the Babar diamond, and the Tavernier diamond



be one and the same, it may be that they are also identical with the Koh-i-Nur. In fact this follows from Ball's own line of reasoning. It is only, apparently, the idea that there were two diamonds, and his not being aware that the Babar diamond went to Persia and then returned to India, which led Mr. Ball to lay stress on a hearsay statement in Forbes' Oriental Memoirs. If the Babar diamond was not sent to Northern India by Mir Jamla, it ought to be still in the Deccan. But there seems to be no report of any such enormous diamond being there.

H. BEVERIDGE.

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NOTE.

The passage about the diamond occurs at p. 58*b*. of British Museum, M. S. Or. 153, Rein's Catalogue I, 110*a*. After describing the meeting of Humayun and Tahmasp, and stating that the latter seated Humayun by his side, it proceeds as follows :—

“King Humayun made an offering (*peshkash*) of a diamond, which had come into the hands of his father Babar Mirza from the Treasury of Sultan Ibrahim, and which Mirza Babar had presented to His Majesty (Humayun), together with several rubies and emeralds. It is currently reported that a connoisseur estimated the value of that diamond as equal to two and a half days of the whole world's expenditure. Its weight was six and a half *mishqāls*. His Majesty the Shah, the protector of the Caliphate (Tahmasp), did not value it so highly. At last he sent it as a present to Nizam Shah, the Ruler of the Deccan, by the hands of Aga Aslān, commonly known as Mehtar Jamāl. An account of this will, D. V., be given shortly.” The MS. in question is the copy of a work by one Shah Khūr Shāh, the envoy of the king of the Deccan. The Nizām Shāh dynasty was that of Ahmednagar, but it is possible that the Nizām Shāh in question belonged to the Golconda or Haiderabad dynasty, which is generally known as the Qutb Shāh dynasty. At all events it seems that Shāh Khūr Shāh was connected with the Golconda dynasty, for he died at Golconda in the end of 972 A. H. (June 1565). If, however, the Nizām Shāh to whom the diamond was sent be Bushān Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar, who reigned 914-961, the diamond must have been sent to him not later than 1554, *i.e.*, within ten years of Tahmasp's receiving it from Humayun. I do not know if Mir Jamla was in any way connected with Aga Aslām, *alias* Mehtar Jamāl, but it is worth noting that Mir Jamla was of Persian origin and came from the neighbourhood of Ispahan.

H. B.

## THE UNKNOWN GOD.

[ SEE *Fortnightly Review*, SEPTEMBER 1897. ]

If—as you say—the Power that made  
Our earth, our kind, in mere disgust  
Have hidden far off in trackless shade  
And left us writhing—dust in dust—,  
And stars their courses blindly keep,  
Why should men work or women weep ?

The labourer at the weary mill,  
His wife who guides the ceaseless wheel,  
What is it tames their clamorous will,  
And makes them rather want than steal ?  
Or have they not, in brain and nerve,  
A GOD they ignorantly serve ?

If one who scales the height alone  
From murmuring and despair desists,  
It is not for his shadow, thrown  
Gigantic on the ambient mists ;  
He hopes to find his Friend, at last,  
When all his pilgrimage is past :



When Paul proclaimed that unknown Lord,  
He meant not what you seem to sing,  
He pointed to a King ignored  
Not to a vague and futile thing,  
One who regards our helpless lot  
With pity, though we know Him not.

And if He order all things well,  
And in our veins His purpose run,  
We will not talk of Heaven or Hell,  
But gladly cry :—" His will be done ! "  
For neither need we hope nor fear  
When life's full fruit is gathered *here*.

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# CORRESPONDENCE.

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## A CORRECTION.

TO THE EDITOR, *Calcutta Review*.

DEAR SIR,

IN my article on the Emperor Babar, in the *Review* for July last, p. 24, I remarked that Professor Dowson had taken a paragraph, without acknowledgment, from Lord Jeffrey. I now find, from an Addendum inserted in the Preface to Vol. VI of Elliot's History, that I have done Professor Dowson an injustice, which I should like, with your permission, to correct. It appears that the paper in which the passage from Jeffrey occurs was by Elliot, and that it was by accident that the source from which it was taken was not indicated.

Yours faithfully,

H. BEVERIDGE.

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## THE QUARTER.

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THOUGH the storm and stress which marked the period covered by our last retrospect have since somewhat abated, they are still far from having entirely passed away. In India, with the assurance of an abundant winter harvest, acute distress has disappeared from all but a few specially impoverished tracts, to be succeeded, there is good reason for hoping, by a season of more than usual plenty. On the other hand, there has been a serious recrudescence of the Plague in the Western Presidency; while, in spite of the heavy sacrifices of men and money that have been incurred in the operations on our North-West Frontier, the most important section of the tribes still refuse to submit to our terms, and there is little hope of an early termination of hostilities. On the Continent of Europe, the Concert of the Powers remains unbroken; but the political mind is profoundly unsettled; there are ominous clouds in the political horizon, and disturbances have occurred in one quarter which may be the forerunners of a grave internecine conflict. In England, the political atmosphere has remained untroubled; but the great Engineering strike, which still continues, has been attended by consequences most disastrous to the trade of the country, and the Metropolis has been the scene of the most destructive fire of the century.

Public attention in India, especially among the native community, has been largely engrossed, during the period we are chronicling, by the trials for sedition which have taken place in the Bombay Presidency, and notably by that of Gangadhar Tilok, the well known Editor of the *Kesari*, whose arrest was noticed in our last number.

The trial resulted in a verdict of guilty, by a majority of six to three, against Tilak himself, while the printer was unanimously acquitted. In summing up, Mr. Justice Strachey, before whom the case was tried, directed the jury that "disaffection," as used in Section 124 A of the Penal Code, meant absence of affection, hostility, or ill-will, of any sort and of whatever degree, towards the Government. Application for leave to appeal to the Privy Council was refused by the Court, on the ground that, though this definition of disaffection, as including mere absence of affection, was erroneous, the jury could not have been misled by it, in view of the context. Application for special leave to appeal was made to Her Majesty's Privy Council, but was refused.

In the *Pratoda* case, in which the defendant had been convicted and sentenced to penal servitude for life by the Sessions Judge, the conviction was affirmed by a Full Bench of the High Court, but the sentence was reduced to one of eighteen months imprisonment. The Court held that Mr. Justice Strachey's definition of disaffection, as including mere absence of affection, was erroneous, and that the term was used in the section in the special sense of political alienation or discontent. Upon this point, Mr. Justice Parsons is reported to have said :—"In my opinion, the word 'disaffection' used in the section under discussion—124A—cannot be construed as meaning an absence, or the contrary, of affection or love, that is to say, dislike or hatred, but must be taken to have been employed in its special sense as signifying political alienation or discontent, that is to say, a feeling of disloyalty to the Government, or existing power, which tends to a disposition not to obey, but to resist, or subvert, that Government or power." The same view is laid down plainly enough by Chief Justice Farran also, when, after quoting Murray's definition of the word—"absence or alienation of affection, of kindly feeling; dislike, hostility, especially political alienation or discontent; a spirit of disloyalty to the Government, or disloyalty—" he adds : "It is in the last sense, I think, that it is employed in the main portion of the section."

The defendant in the *Moda Vritta* case, which was a particularly gross one, was convicted and sentenced to nine months simple imprisonment. In the *Vaibhav* case, the jury disagreed and were discharged; and ultimately an apology was accepted and the prosecution dropped.

The question of the interpretation to be put upon section 124-A. of the Penal Code has also been considered by the Allahabad High Court, in the case of the appeal of one Amba Pershad against the sentence of 'eighteen months' imprisonment passed upon him by the Sessions Judge in what is known as the Moradabad Case. In this case the defendant had pleaded guilty, and the appeal was for a reduction of the sentence. The Court, in confirming the sentence, expressed their opinion that, having regard to the gravity of the offence, the punishment was entirely inadequate. The judgment of the Court, which, on most points, concurred in the views of Mr. Justice Strachey and the Full Bench of the Bombay High Court, contains the following important passage :—

"The intention of a speaker, writer or publisher may be inferred from the particular speech, article, or letter, or it may be proved from that speech, article, or letter, considered in conjunction with what such speaker, writer or publisher has said, written or published on another or other occasions. Where it is ascertained that the intention of the speaker, writer, or publisher, was to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British



India, it is immaterial whether or not the words spoken, written, or published, could have the effect of exciting such feelings of disaffection, and it is immaterial whether the words were true or were false, and, except on the question of punishment, or in a case in which the speaker, writer, or publisher, is charged with having excited such feelings of disaffection, it is immaterial whether or not the words did in fact excite such feelings of disaffection."

At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 21st instant, the Honourable Mr. Chalmers announced the intention of the Government, during the Committee stage of the Bills before the Council for the amendment of the Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes, to propose a series of important amendments in the law relating to sedition. One of these is that the present section 124-A shall be repealed and the following substituted for it :—

" 124A.—Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards Her Majesty or the Government, or promotes or attempts to promote feelings of enmity or ill-will between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to ten years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.

" *Explanation 1.*—The expression 'disaffection' includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity or ill-will.

" *Explanation 2.*—Comments on the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence."

Another is to repeal section 505 of the Penal Code, dealing with the offence of disseminating certain false statements and rumours conducing to the public injury, and to substitute for it the following section :—

" 505. Whoever makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report,—

" (a) with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, any officer, soldier or sailor in the Army or Navy of Her Majesty, or in the Royal Indian Marine, or in the Imperial Service Troops, to mutiny or otherwise disregard or fail in his duty as such ; or

" (b) with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public, or to any section of the public, whereby they may be induced to commit an offence against the State or against the public tranquillity ; or

" (c) with intent to incite, or which is likely to incite, any class or community of persons to commit any offence against any other class or community ;

" shall be punished with imprisonment of either description which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

" *Exception*—It does not amount to an offence within the meaning of this section to make, publish or circulate any such statement, rumour or report as aforesaid when such statement, rumour or report is true, and is made, published, or circulated without such intent as aforesaid."

It is further proposed to empower Presidency or District Magistrates to require sureties for good behaviour from persons disseminating seditious matter, and to make offences under section 124A. triable by Presidency Magistrates and Magistrates of the first class.

It is evident that all these proposals, and especially the last two, call for very careful consideration.

One Damodar Chapekar, a Deccan Brahman, of the age of twenty-eight, who has been arrested by the Poona police, has made a full confession of having, with an accomplice, murdered Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst. The man appears, from his confession, which has been confirmed in many particulars, to have been long possessed with a mania for destruction, and he accuses himself of having perpetrated the recent outrage on the Queen's statue and set fire to a large mandap at Poona. He declares his motive to have been to die in order to put an end to the oppression that was being committed in connexion with the administration of the Plague regulations ; and he seems to have dogged Mr. Rand's steps for some weeks before finding what he considered a favourable opportunity for carrying out his purpose.

The trial, after repeated postponements, has been fixed for the 28th instant.

It would be quite impracticable to enter, in this place, into the details of the warfare on our North-West Frontier. It must suffice to note that the Malakand operations under General Sir Bindon Blood, which were brought to a successful conclusion at the latter end of August, were followed by a punitive expedition into the Mohmund country ; and this, in its turn, led to operations against the Mamunds. The Mohmund country was traversed by a force under Major-General Ellis between the 15th September and the 7th October. An armed gathering under the Hadda Mullah in the Bedmanai Pass was easily dispersed ; our troops penetrated to the Mullah's headquarters, and such of the tribesmen as refused to accept our terms were punished.

The operations in the Mamund country and Bajaur were necessitated by a night attack on Brigadier-General Jeffrey's force, while encamped near the Rambat Pass, on its way to the Mohmand country, which resulted in the loss of two British officers, but was repulsed. Subsequently, in the course of a movement undertaken by General Jeffrey for the purpose of occupying Bilot, he became separated from the main body of the force during a storm, and was compelled to entrench himself, with a weak detachment, in one of the enemy's villages, where he was subjected to a heavy fire from the enemy, who occupied a portion of the village, but was ultimately relieved by two companies of the Guides and two of the 35th Sikhs under Major Worledge. After two desperate night attacks on the camp had been repelled, Agrah and Got were taken on the 30th September, with a loss of two officers and 12 men killed and six officers and 43 men wounded, and the Mamund Jirgah submitted some days later.

These operations were followed by an expedition against



the Orakzais and Afridis, the decision for the despatch of which is understood to have been arrived at by a majority of one in the Governor-General's Council. General Lockhart, who was entrusted with the command of the expedition, consisting of some 40,000 men, of whom nearly a third were British, issued his proclamation to these tribes on the 14th October. The operations began with the capture of the Dargai Changru defile, by a force under General Palmer, after severe fighting. Subsequently the Orakzais attacked General Kempster's brigade, but were driven off after a sharp struggle, whereupon, for reasons which have not been satisfactorily explained, the force returned to Shinwari. The enemy promptly re-occupied the Dargai heights, and they had to be retaken, on the 20th October, by General Yeatman-Biggs, the operation resulting in the severest action of the whole campaign, attended by heavy losses to our force. The Sampagha Pass was captured, General Gaselee's brigade leading, on the 28th October, with comparatively small loss, owing largely to the enemy's sangars having been rendered untenable by artillery fire before the attack was delivered. The subsequent fighting has been mainly of a guerilla character; but General Kempster's brigade was heavily engaged at Saran Sar on the 16th November and suffered severe losses, and there was severe fighting during the return of the force by the Bara Valley, all sections of the Afridis uniting to attack the rear of the retiring brigades.

The Orakzais have submitted to our terms; but the Afridis still hold out; and the expeditionary force is now concentrated at Baikai and Jamrud preparatory to re-occupying the Khyber Pass and scouring the Bazar Valley.

It is impossible to review the operations without feeling that the results have been hopelessly incommensurate with the suffering and loss of life they have involved. Indeed, it is difficult to see that any useful object has been accomplished by them. We have proved to the Afridis that, in spite of anything they can do to prevent us, we can march an army from one end of their country to the other, dealing destruction to their villages and towers by the way. But the exploit, as far as can be judged from their behaviour, has made very little impression on them. They have not only refused our terms, but defied us to the last; the withdrawal of our forces, which they probably regard as a confession of defeat, has been the occasion some of the severest fighting of the campaign, and there is every probability that, as soon as the worst of the winter is over, we shall have to do our work over again.

One result of the operations has been the abandonment of the Viceroy's Burmah tour; and His Excellency after visiting Darjeeling returned to Calcutta on the 10th instant.

One of the most important events of the period under review has been the refusal of the British Government, acting under the strong recommendation of the Government of India, to give its adherence to the proposals of France and the United States, that, under certain conditions, the Government of India should re-open its mints to the coinage of silver.

The proposals in question were, briefly, to the effect that, if the Government of Great Britain would agree to re-open its Indian Mints to silver and close them to gold, and would make certain other concessions of a comparatively unimportant character, and if, further, they should be satisfied that they would receive such assistance from other Powers as would justify them in opening their mints to the free coinage of silver at a ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, the Governments in question would take steps to summon an International Conference to deal with the matter.

The question was the subject of an extremely able despatch of the Government of India, who stated it to be their unanimous and decided opinion that it would be most unwise to re-open the mints, as part of the proposed arrangement, "especially at a time when we are, to all appearances, approaching the attainment of stability in exchange by the operation of our own isolated and independent action," and strongly recommended Her Majesty's Government to decline to give the undertaking desired.

The main reason assigned in the despatch for this conclusion was that, while the first result of the suggested measures would be an intense and probably prolonged disturbance of Indian trade and industry, owing to the sudden rise of exchange from about 16*d.* to about 23*d.* per rupee which they would cause, there was grave risk of the attempt of France and the United States to maintain the ratio failing, in which case the ultimate result would be that exchange would fall, as suddenly as it had risen, to a point far below its present level, with consequences most disastrous to India.

"If," say the authors of the Despatch, "the public were not convinced that the arrangement would have the effect intended, or believed that it would not be permanent, the paralysis of trade and industry would be prolonged and accompanied by acute individual suffering; none of the advantages expected would be attained, and the country would pass through a critical period which would retard its progress for years. How long the crisis would last before normal or stable conditions were restored, it is not possible to conjecture. It would be long even if the mercantile and banking community saw that silver was being steadily maintained at the prescribed rates; while any indication of unsteadiness would greatly prolong



the period by giving foundation for doubt. If the doubt were justified by the result, the position would be disastrous alike to the State, to individuals and to trade generally. The exchange value of the rupee having risen suddenly without any intermediate steps, from 16*d.* to some higher figure, it would fall quite as suddenly to a point far lower than its present level, probably to 9*d.*, or even lower. Such a fall would, apart from other disastrous results, necessitate the imposition of additional taxation to the extent of many crores."

Among the reasons given for the opinion of the Government of India that the proposed arrangement would probably fail to maintain the ratio, was the fact that it rested on too narrow a basis. "A union consisting of two countries, with a third lending assistance, is," they observe, "a very different thing from the general international union of all or most of the important countries of the world which was advocated by the Government of India in the despatches of March and June 1892, and of February and September, 1886. To afford a hope that a monetary union will succeed in establishing stability in the relative value of gold and silver, it is essential that the nations adhering to it should be of such number and importance that the metallic currency of the whole body shall be of sufficient extent to allow of the exercise of adequate influence on the value of the two metals. We doubt whether any two or even three nations in the world, unless, indeed, one of them was (*sic*) Great Britain, could comply with this condition, and we have no hesitation in saying that France and United States certainly could not."

Another of the reasons assigned is the possibility of either France or the United States being reduced to a paper currency in which event the agreement would, from the force of circumstances, cease to operate for an indefinite period. A third is the consideration that a three-sided agreement is open to much greater risk of termination by the action of one or two of the parties than a many-sided agreement such as the Government of India had advocated on previous occasions. Added to this, the authors of the despatch point out, there is the possibility of France or the United States being compelled to abandon the arrangement in order to prevent its gold reserves from disappearing. "It is quite possible that the whole of the gold coinage of both France and the United States might disappear and be replaced by silver coins before the market value of silver was raised to the intended ratio with gold. Whether the Governments of those countries would allow a total displacement of their gold by silver coins, and the possible export from the country of the entire stock of gold is \* \* \* \* open to more than doubt; and in so far as either enforces measures to prevent gold from being exported, the power of the union,

and possibly also its desire, to effect its object will be diminished."

The Government of India, it may be added, declare their readiness to reconsider the question in the event of assurances of really substantial co-operation being received from other Powers ; but, at the same time, they express their conviction that, whatever inducements may be held out by other nations, their best policy in monetary matters is to link their system with that of Great Britain. In any case, they are of opinion, the true interests of India demand that any measures for securing the stability of the rate of exchange should be based on a ratio not greatly differing from that equivalent to 16*d.* per rupee, and they consider that the difficulty of making the proposed arrangement effective is immensely increased by the adoption of a ratio differing so widely from that rate as 15½ of silver to 1 of gold.

Referring to the passage in the Despatch of the Secretary of State in which it is objected to the present system that it is one of arbitrary restriction, the Government of India point out that it is not permanent. "We are," they say, "in a transition period, moving from one system to another, and the present artificial restriction is merely a temporary expedient which has for its sole object the acceleration of the movement and which will cease with the completion of the movement. Thereafter the expansion and contraction of the currency will be left to the natural forces of the market ; that is, it will be regulated automatically by the inflow and outflow of gold."

The frontier policy of the Government of India has been made the subject of a severe attack by Mr. Fowler in a speech at Wolverhampton, on the ground, not only that it is fraught with danger to the Indian Empire, but that it involves a violation of the assurances given in Lord Elgin's proclamation to the tribes. In reply to the latter charge, it has been pointed out by Lord George Hamilton that the question was not raised by his predecessor in his official despatches to the Viceroy, and that, though the charge was referred to in his private telegrams, the late Government had decided to overrule Lord Elgin's proposals on wholly independent grounds.

The following is the text of the private telegrams above referred to :—

" Mr. Fowler to the Viceroy, 30th May, 1895.

" Private. Chitral. No doubt you have considered probable charge of inconsistency between the terms of your Proclamation to the tribes and policy advocated in your Despatch of 8th May, Foreign Secret. As strong feeling on this subject exists here, I should be glad if you would telegraph privately any observation, or explanation, which occurs to you.

" The Viceroy to Mr. Fowler, 31st May 1895.

" Private. Yours of 30th, Chitral.

" I anticipated charge, but think it is met by consideration of circumstances :—



"1st.—Proclamation declares intention of providing against future invasions of Chitral as well as ending present. This covers means necessary for maintenance of garrison.

"2nd.—We promised peaceful retirement inviting co-operation of tribes. Their opposition altered the conditions.

"3rd.—We do not propose annexation of any territory, or any interference with local independence, but to provide for opening of a road through territory outside British India. This principle not uncommon on frontier,—e.g., routes like Gomal, and perhaps strongest case, Peshawar to Kohat through Afidi country. It was also accepted by China in case of Namkhan road.

"4th.—Above all, we propose to proceed by negotiation with tribes. Best route reported to pass through Swat and Dir only. Khan of Dir will almost certainly consent, for if we withdraw, he will very probably be driven out. Swatis reported to expect and wish us to remain.

"5th.—I agree that at first troops will be required for protection of road, but example of Hunza levies encourages belief that large part of work may eventually be done by levies and allowances to tribes."

It has been announced by the Secretary for War that the Government propose to increase each of the Home battalions with the view of securing a larger margin of seasoned soldiers; to regroup the infantry; to engage a small number of Reservists annually on increased pay, and to provide the soldier with a clear shilling a day.

The great fire in the city to which we have already referred, and which is suspected to have been the work of incendiarism, destroyed a great portion of the buildings, chiefly large warehouses, between Fore Street and Aldersgate Street in Cripplegate, and caused damage variously estimated at from one million to four millions sterling.

It has been definitely announced by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach that there will be an advance on Khartoum, and that Parliament will be asked, if necessary, to assist Egypt, and also India, financially. The transfer of Kassala to the Egyptian Government has commenced.

There are at last signs that the great engineering strike is approaching an end. Two conferences between masters and men have been held. The first of these proved practically fruitless, both sides refusing to yield on the question of hours; the second, however, has resulted in a provisional agreement on all other points; and a fresh ballot of the men is being taken.

Recent events have afforded clear indications of a nascent regrouping of the Great Powers in Europe. It seems more than ever likely that the Porte will find that its recent triumph over the infidel is very far from having improved its position. The treaty of peace between the late belligerents has at last been signed; but the Sultan has been warned, in the most practical of ways, that he can hope to enjoy the fruits of his victory only so far as it pleases the Powers to allow him to do so. It had been arranged to employ part of the war indemnity in re-organising the Turkish navy; but, notwithstanding that there

was nothing aggressive in the scale on which this was to be done, Russia informed the Porte that, if any part of the money were spent on armaments, she would demand the arrears of the Russo-Turkish war indemnity, and the scheme has accordingly been abandoned. About the same time Austria demanded an indemnity of a quarter of a million on account of the expulsion of the Austrian Lloyds Agent from Mersina, threatening to bombard the place in the event of non-compliance, and the Sultan promptly ordered the money to be paid.

One need not look very far beneath the surface to see in this action on the part of the two Powers a practical protest against the recent rapprochement between Berlin and Constantinople, and, at the same time, to find in it strong confirmation of the belief that an understanding on the Eastern question has been arrived at between Russia and Austria.

A fierce feud has arisen between the German and Czech parties in Austria on the language question and has given rise to violent scenes in the Reichsrath, ending in its prorogation, the resignation of the Prime Minister, and serious riots in Bohemia.

Germany has occupied the port of Kiaochau in China in order to obtain reparation for the late outrage on German missionaries at Shantung, and as a guarantee against similar occurrences in future. The demands made are said to be the payment of an indemnity; liberty to erect a Cathedral at Shantung; the punishment of the authors of the outrage, and the cession of Kiaochau as a coaling station. Russia is said to have acquiesced in the occupation, on condition of getting a free hand in Korea; but it is naturally resented by Japan, who will probably demand some set-off and is making extensive naval preparations.

The Spanish Government has issued a decree granting autonomy to Cuba and Porto Rico, with parliamentary institutions, the supreme power being vested in a Governor-General.

The Italian Cabinet has resigned and a fresh Cabinet has been formed by Rudini.

An application for a fresh trial of the exile Dreyfus has been refused by the French Government, in the face of considerable popular agitation.

With a single exception President McKinley's message to the United States Congress seems to have been moderate and statesmanlike. He insisted on the absolute necessity of reform in the currency and banking system; declared that America must give Spain a reasonable chance of realising reforms in Cuba and would not intervene forcibly unless the necessity for doing so were to become manifest to the whole



world ; expressed a hope that Senator Wolcott's labours would still result in an international agreement regarding silver, and recommended annexation of Hawaii.

The obituary for the period under review includes the names of H. R. H. the Duchess of Teck ; the Countess of Lathom ; Baron Pollock ; Alphonse Daudet ; Mr. R. H. Hutton ; Mr. C. Rae-Browne ; General Bourbaki ; Sir H. Lushington ; Sir John Gilbert, R. A. ; Professor F. Newman ; Major-General R. B. P. Campbell, C.B. ; Mr. C. A. Dana ; Major-General Sir J. Nuttall, K.C.B. ; Mr. George M. Pullman ; Sir P. Lepage Renouf ; Mr. F. T. Palgrave ; Mdme. Couvreur ; Surgeon-General W. R. Cornish, C.I.E. ; Lord Rosmead ; Sir Rutherford Alcock ; Mr. Henry George ; Colonel Chard, V.C. ; Surgeon-Major-General, Sir W. A. Mackinnon ; Signor G. B. Cavalcaselle ; Professor W. H. von Riel ; Sir Henry Doulton ; Professor H. Calderwood ; General Sir A. J. Herbert, K.C.B. ; Admiral Sir A. Phillimore ; Rev. Professor James Legge ; Mr. W. Terriss ; Sir Frank Lockwood ; and Sir W. Maxwell.

*December 23, 1897.*

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## CRITICAL NOTICES.

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*Twelve Indian Statesmen.* By George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D.,  
Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Royal Statistical  
Societies, London : John Murray, Albemarle Street 1897.

**D**R. SMITH seems to us to have been a little unfortunate in his selection either of a title for his book, or of the subjects for the memoirs which it comprehends. No one will dispute the claim either of John Clark Marshman, as an historian and journalist of conspicuous merit, a successful educationist and an ardent philanthropist, or of Lieutenant-General Colin Mackenzie, C. B., as a brave soldier and chivalrous gentleman, to a high place among Indian worthies. But we know of no ground on which either of them can be appropriately included in a list of Indian statesmen. The anomaly, moreover, is emphasised by the author in his Preface, when he claims that the "Twelve statesmen sketched in this volume were chief among the Empire-builders of the nineteenth century." That all the twelve were, in some sense, Empire-builders; that several of them may fairly be ranked as *primi inter pares* in that category, will be generally granted. But to say that, as a body, they were chief among the Empire-builders of the nineteenth century, even in India, is to advance a claim which has only to be stated to be unhesitatingly rejected by nine critics out of ten.

Apart from this preliminary objection, and apart from a certain narrowness of spirit which finds expression in the writer's opinion that the salvation of India depends upon its evangelisation, the chief defect in Dr. Smith's work seems to us to be the tone of exaggeration in which he is apt to indulge. For the scale on which they are written, the biographies produce an effect of completeness which furnishes strong testimony to the judgment exercised by the author in the selection of his facts.

The subjects of the biographies are Charles Grant an almost forgotten worthy, of whom the writer says in his Preface that "he was the first to work out the ethical principles on which alone Great Britain could found its Indian Empire; he also had the chief influence in educating public opinion and persuading Parliament to give these principles active authority"; Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B.; John Lord Lawrence, G.C.B.; Sir James Outram, G.C.B.; Sir Donald M'Leod, K.C.S.I., C. B.; Sir Henry Marion Durand, K.C.S.I., C. B.; Lieutenant-General Colin Mackenzie, C. B.; Sir Herbert B. Edwards,



K.C.B., K.C.S.I. ; John Clark Marshman, C.S.I. ; Sir Henry Sumner Maine, K. C. S. I. ; Sir Henry Ramsay, K.C.S.I., C.B. ; Sir Charles U. Aitchison, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

"It is an accident," remarks Dr. Smith, "but all the more significant on that account, that the twelve unconsciously revealed the strain of Puritanism which has been said to mark the greatest and most zealous patriotism." We cannot, however, help feeling that the "accident" referred to has not been wholly inoperative in determining Dr. Smith's selection of his heroes. We question, moreover, whether any strain of Puritanism can be justly attributed to Sir Henry Sumner Maine.

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*The Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius.* Translated into English Prose and Verse by H. R. James, M. A., Ch. Ch., Oxford. London : Elliot Stock. 1897.

THE circumstances under which it was composed ; the character of its subject-matter, and the high estimate in which it was held for more than a thousand years, combine to invest the famous Consolation of Philosophy with an interest unsurpassed by that attaching to any work of antiquity.

Its author, who was one of the most accomplished men of his time, and whose distinction it is to have handed on the tradition of Greek philosophy to the Middle Ages by his translations into Latin of the works of some of its greatest writers, was raised by the Emperor Theodoric to the highest offices in the State. After he had lived to see his two sons made joint Consuls, a false charge was made against him of conspiring against his master, and he was cast into prison at Pavia. It was while he was lying there under sentence of death that he composed the "Consolation of Philosophy," a work which has been translated into every European tongue and was a treasure-house to our own Chaucer and many other writers of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

In it, to quote Mr. James' short, but excellent, Preface, Boethius "represents himself as seated in his prison distraught with grief, indignant at the injustice of his misfortunes, and seeking relief for his melancholy in writing verses descriptive of his condition. Suddenly there appears to him the Divine figure of Philosophy, in the guise of a woman of superhuman dignity and beauty, who, by a succession of discourses, convinces him of the vanity of regret for the lost gifts of fortune, raises his mind once more to the contemplation of the true good, and makes clear to him the mystery of the world's moral government."

This colloquy, interspersed with the poetical reflections of Boethius, forms the substance of the work, in the course of

which such subjects as the vanity of fortune's gifts, the nature of true happiness, the problem of evil, the reconciliation of free-will with the Divine fore-knowledge, are discussed with much acumen, if without any very satisfactory result.

The following passage regarding the distinction between eternity and everlasting duration may give an idea of the reasoning of Boethius at its best :—

'God is eternal; in this judgment all rational beings agree. Let us, then, consider what eternity is. For this word carries with it a revelation alike of the Divine nature and of the Divine knowledge. Now, eternity is the possession of endless life whole and perfect at a single moment. What this is, becomes more clear and manifest from a comparison with things temporal. For whatever lives in time is a present proceeding from the past to the future, and there is nothing set in time which can embrace the whole space of its life together. To-morrow's state it grasps not yet, while it has already lost yesterday; nay, even in the life of to-day ye live no longer than one brief transitory moment. Whatever, therefore, is subject to the condition of time, although, as Aristotle deemed of the world, it never have either beginning or end, and its life be stretched to the whole extent of time's infinity, it yet is not such as rightly to be thought eternal. For it does not include and embrace the whole space of infinite life at once, but has no present hold on things to come, not yet accomplished. Accordingly, that which includes and possesses the whole fulness of unending life at once, from which nothing future is absent, from which nothing past has escaped, this is rightly called eternal; this must of necessity be ever present to itself in full self-possession, and hold the infinity of movable time in an abiding present. Wherefore they deem not rightly who imagine that on Plato's principles the created world is made co-eternal with the Creator, because they are told that he believed the world to have had no beginning in time,\* and to be destined never to come to an end. For it is one thing for existence to be endlessly prolonged, which was what Plato ascribed to the world, another for the whole of an endless life to be embraced in the present, which is manifestly a property peculiar to the Divine mind. Nor need God appear earlier in mere duration of time to created things, but only prior in the unique simplicity of His nature. For the infinite progression of things in time copies this immediate existence in the present of the changeless life, and when it cannot succeed in equalling it, declines from movelessness into motion, and falls away from the simplicity of a perpetual present to the infinite duration of the future and the past; and since it cannot possess the whole fulness of its life together, for the very reason that in a manner it never ceases to be, it seems, up to a certain point, to rival that which it cannot complete and express by attaching itself indifferently to any present moment of time, however swift and brief; and since this bears some resemblance to that ever abiding present, it bestows on everything to which it is assigned the semblance of existence. But since it cannot abide, it hurries along the infinite path of time, and the result has been that it continues by ceaseless movement the life the completeness of which it could not embrace while it stood still. So, if we are minded to give things their right names, we shall follow Plato in saying that God indeed is eternal, but the world everlasting.

'Since, then, every mode of judgment comprehends its objects conformably to its own nature, and since God abides for ever in an eternal present, His knowledge, also transcending all movement of time, dwells in the simplicity of its own changeless present, and embracing the whole infinite sweep of the past and of the future, contemplates all that falls within its simple cognition as if it were now taking place. And therefore, if thou wilt carefully consider that immediate presentment whereby it discriminates all things, thou wilt more rightly deem it not foreknowledge as of something future, but knowledge of

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\* Plato expressly states the opposite in the "Timæus" (28B), though possibly there the account of the beginning of the world in time is to be understood figuratively, not literally. See Jowett, vol. iii., pp. 448, 449 (3rd edit.).



a moment that never passes. For this cause the name chosen to describe it is not prevision, but providence, because, since utterly removed in nature from things mean and trivial, its outlook embraces all things as from some lofty height. Why, then, dost thou insist that the things which are surveyed by the Divine eye are involved in necessity, whereas clearly men impose no necessity on things which they see? Does the act of vision add any necessity to the things which thou seest before thy eyes?

Mr. James has performed his work of translation with conspicuous ability. His renderings of the poetical interludes are in many cases exceedingly happy, while the lucidity of the summaries with which he has prefaced the different divisions of the work could hardly be surpassed. Into the controversy as to the religion of Boethius, or of the author of the "Consolation," upon which, in spite of Mr. Hodgkin's verdict, that the Christian dogmatic treatises bearing the name of Boethius are genuine, the last word has not, perhaps, yet been said, he does not enter.

A specimen of Mr. James' poetical versions may conclude this notice.

## SONG VI.

## THE UNIVERSAL AIM.

Wouldst thou with unclouded mind  
View the laws by God designed,  
Lift thy steadfast gaze on high  
To the starry canopy;  
See in rightful league of love  
All the constellations move.  
Fiery Sol. in full career,  
Ne'er obstructs cold Phœbe's sphere,  
When the Bear, at heaven's height,  
Wheels his coursers' rapid flight,  
Though he sees the starry train  
Sinking in the western main,  
He repines not, nor desires  
In the flood to quench his fires.  
In true sequence, as decreed,  
Daily morn and eve succeed;  
Vesper brings the shades of night,  
Lucifer the morning light.  
Love, in alternation due,  
Still the cycle doth renew,  
And discordant strife is driven  
From the starry realm of heaven.  
Thus, in wondrous amity,  
Warring elements agree;  
Hot and cold, and moist and dry,  
Lay their ancient quarrel by;  
High the flickering flame ascends,  
Downward earth for ever tends.  
So the year in spring's mild hours  
Loads the air with scent of flowers;

## CRITICAL NOTICES.

Summer paints the golden grain ;  
Then, when autumn comes again,  
Bright with fruit the orchards glow ;  
Winter brings the rain and snow.  
Thus the season's fixed progression,  
Tempered in a due succession,  
Nourishes and brings to birth  
All that lives and breathes on earth.  
Then, soon runs life's little day,  
All it brought it takes away.

But One sits and guides the reins,  
He who made and all sustains ;  
King and Lord and Fountain-head,  
Judge most holy, Law most dread ;  
Now impels and now keeps back,  
Holds each waverer in the track.  
Else, were once the power withheld  
That the circling spheres compelled  
In their orbits to revolve,  
This world's order would dissolve,  
And th' harmonious whole would all  
In one hideous ruin fall.

But through this connected frame  
Runs one universal aim ;  
Towards the Good do all things tend,  
Many paths, but one the end.  
For nought lasts, unless it turns  
Backward in its course, and yearns  
To that Source to flow again  
Whence its being first was ta'en.

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*Pseudepigrapha: an Account of certain Apocryphal Sacred Writings of the Jews and Early Christians.* By the Rev William J. Deane, M. A., Edinburgh : T & T. Clark.

**I**N this work the author has reproduced certain articles which have been contributed by him, from time to time, to different religious periodicals, and which treat of the Pseudepigraphical Jewish and Christian writings of the times immediately preceding and following the dawn of the Christian era. These writings, which appeared under the assumed name of some famous person are not, the writer tells us, to be regarded as literary forgeries, but were, in his opinion, put forward in this manner by their authors in order that they might claim attention, and as a guarantee of their quality, it being taken for granted that a writer, in assuming a celebrated title, would himself be gifted in some degree to justify it. In this way men sought to propagate their views regarding the fall of man, the future reserved for him, the coming of the Messiah and the final



judgment. That this view may be rightly taken of some of the works of the period, cannot be doubted ; but there is no evidence to show that it applies to all the writings cited by the author as pseudepigraphical. It is quite clear that it is not the view held regarding the book of Enoch, to take but one example, by the writer of the Epistle to Barnabas, who says : "The final stumbling block hath approached, concerning which it is written as Enoch says : For to this end the Lord hath shortened the times and the days, that his beloved may hasten and come into his inheritance." Tertullian also regarded the work as inspired. "These things," he writes, "the Holy Ghost, foreseeing from the beginning the future entrance of superstitions, foretold by the mouth of the ancient seer Enoch." Origen, again, the writer admits, "used its language and adopted its ideas as emanating from one of the greatest of prophets." St. Augustine and Clement of Alexandria, on the other hand, appear to have doubted its authenticity, but did not attempt to put forward the theory presented to us by Mr. Deane. It seems to us clear that, although these books may not have been put forward as actually written by the persons under whose names they were given to the world, some at least of them were intended to be taken as faithful records of the doings and sayings of those persons ; and that they were so taken, is evident from many expressions concerning them to be found in the writings of the early Fathers. Another objection to the editor's definition is that it does not sufficiently distinguish the Pseudepigrapha with which he deals from certain books of the Sacred Canon, which are obviously pseudepigraphical. The documents are divided by the writer into three classes : The first he designates the Lyrical ; the second the Prophetical, which is again divided into two sections, The Apocalyptic and the Testaments ; and the third the Historical, or Haggadistic. In the second of these classes we find the Book of Enoch, an extremely interesting and important document, which not only throws considerable light on the religious belief of the Jews at that period of their history, but indicates to us the source whence Milton drew inspiration for *Paradise Lost*, and of a vast amount of curious apocryphal legends which crept into the early Christian religion, and of which traces are discernible in it to the present day. Although it had been known to scholars for many centuries that there was a book extant under the name of Enoch, it was not until 1821 that it was brought fully before the world. It would be impossible to give, in the space of a review, anything like an adequate description of its contents ; but the following passages will serve to show something of its beauty, and the quaintness of some of the legends it sets forth.

Section i. (chaps. vi.—xi.) narrates the fall of the angels and its immediate consequences. Seeing the beauty of the daughters of men, two hundred angels under the leadership of Semyaza bound themselves by an oath to take wives from among mortal women. For this purpose they descended on Mount Hermon, and in due time became parents of giants of fabulous height and size. These monsters devoured all the substance of men, and then proceeded to devour men themselves; they also taught mankind all kind of destructive arts, and vice flourished under their instruction. And men cried aloud to heaven, and the four archangels heard them, and appealed to God in their behalf. And God sent Uriel to Noah, the son of Lamech, to warn him of the flood, and ordered Raphael to bind Azazel, and lay him in a dark cleft in the wilderness, there to remain till the fire received him at the day of judgment. Gabriel had to set the giants one against the other that they might perish by mutual slaughter; to Michael fell the duty of punishing the evil angels: they were to witness the destruction of their offspring, and then be buried under the earth for seventy generations till the judgment day, when they should be cast into eternal fire. Then, when all sin and impurity shall be purged away "at the end of all generations," the plant of righteousness shall appear and a new order of things; the saints shall live till they have begotten a thousand children, and shall die in peace; the earth shall be fruitful, and be planted with all manner of trees; no corruption, or crime, or suffering shall be found therein; "in those days," saith God, "I will open the store-chambers of blessing which are in heaven, that they may descend upon the earth, and on the work and labour of men. Peace and righteousness shall join together, in all the days of the world and through all families of the earth."

Section ii. (chaps. xii.—xvi.). After it has been said that Enoch was hidden from men's sight, being wholly engaged with the holy ones, he himself tells how the good angels sent him to the fallen angels, whose intercourse with heaven was entirely cut off, to announce their doom. Terrified, they entreat him to write for them a petition to God for forgiveness; he complies with their request, leaves their unholy neighbourhood, and retreating to the region of Dan, falls asleep, and has a vision of judgment, which he afterwards is commissioned to unfold to the disobedient angels. Their petition is refused now and for ever. And the dread answer was given to him, as he relates, in a vision, wherein he was rapt to the palace of heaven and the presence of the Almighty, of which he gives a very noble description.

The second division contained in chaps. xxxvii.—lxxi., is called "The second Vision of Wisdom," and consists of three parables, allegories, or similitudes, through the medium of which Enoch relates the revelations which he received concerning the ideal future and the secrets of the spiritual world. Many of the matters which he mentions we should treat as physical phenomena; in his view they assume a higher relation, and are therefore differentiated from the objects described in the preceding division which concerned only this earth and the lower heavens. The first similitude, or figurative address (chaps. xxxviii.—xliv.), speaks first of the time when the separation between the righteous and sinners shall be made, and the angels shall dwell in communion with holy men. Then Enoch relates how he was carried to the extremity of heaven, and saw the celestial abodes prepared for the righteous, where they bless and magnify the Lord for ever and ever, and the special seat ordained for himself. He beholds the innumerable hosts of angels and sleepless spirits who surround the throne of God, and particularly the four archangels, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel, to whom are assigned special duties. He is shown the secrets of heaven, the weighing of men's actions in the balance, the rejection of sinners from the abodes of the just, the mysteries of thunder and lightning, winds, clouds, dew, hail, mist, sun, and moon. Of these heavenly bodies the regular course and motion are their praise of God for creation and preservation, and this ceaseless praise is their rest. He finds the habitation of Wisdom in heaven, as man on earth would not receive her, but welcomed only iniquity. And lastly, he observes how the stars are called by name and their courses weighed and examined, and recognises in their regularity and obedience a picture of the life of the righteous on earth.

The writer gives sketches of the contents of the various



pseudepigraphical works, discusses their dates and authorship, and endeavours to point out the lessons they teach. Although we do not always agree with him, we must admit that he has succeeded in compiling a work full of valuable and suggestive matter, and picturesque legendary narrative, which, to many readers, will be not only new but of abiding interest.

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*"Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament."*

By S. R. DRIVER, D D. T and T. Clarke. Edinburgh.

A N "Introduction to The Literature of the Old Testament" is the first book issued by the International Theological Library under the editorship of the Revd. Stewart Salmond, D D., Professor of Systematic Theology and New Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Aberdeen; and the Revd. Charles A. Briggs, D.D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York. This library, as we are informed in the Editor's preface, is designed to cover the whole field of Christian Theology and to form a series of text books for the use of theological students. Each volume, while complete in itself, is to form part of a carefully planned whole, and one of the Editors will prepare a volume of Theological Encyclopædia, giving the history and literature not only of Theology as a whole, but also of each department of it. The Library, which is international, is conducted in the interests of Theology as a Science, and aims at giving impartial statements of the results of Theological Science and of the questions which are still at issue in the different departments. The writer of the book under review, the Revd. S. R. Driver, D D, takes care to prevent any misconception as to the scope of the work by stating clearly that it is not an introduction to the Theology, or the History, or the study of the Old Testament, but that it refers only to its *Literature*, including an account of the contents and structure of the several books and as much indication of their general character and aim as is permitted by the space at his command, which is limited.

That he has performed his laborious task with marked judgment and skill, will be conceded by all who read the book. Polemical discussions are wisely avoided, as far as possible. Although a perfectly uniform treatment of the material has not been aimed at, some of the books, notably the poetic and the prophetic, being more fully discussed than the historical, which are more generally known, the treatment of all shows a thoroughness and scholarship worthy of the greatness of the subject. The distinctive types of style that are to be found in the different parts of the Old Testament, and the expressions characteristic of the style of the various writers, have received special attention,

and the results should prove of very important service to the critical student. Dr. Driver admits that completeness has not been attainable, it being impossible, within the scope of a work of this kind, to mention more than the most salient and important of the grounds for a given conclusion. But it will be generally admitted, we think, that in this matter he has done all, and more than all, that could be expected of him, a fuller statement belonging, as he justly remarks, to a commentary. The book, while naturally founded to a great extent upon the work of previous scholars, embodies the results of a vast deal of independent labour involved in studying the conclusions of critics, in order to judge of the adequacy of the grounds urged in their support. Copious references are given which will enable the reader not only to see to whom the author has been indebted, but to verify the conclusions arrived at. The book is well got up and printed in excellent type, and should prove a very valuable assistance to students of Theology.

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*The Assemblies of Hariri, Student's Edition of the Arabic Text, with English Notes, grammatical, critical and historical.* By Dr. F. STEINGASS, London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company. 1897.

DR. STEINGASS' name is a sufficient guarantee both for the correctness of the text and for the value of the very copious notes which he has supplied. The book, as he explains in the Preface, has been arranged on a progressive plan; and it is not too much to say that those who follow it and succeed in mastering the difficulties which the text presents, will have acquired more than average facility in the reading of Arabic. This, says the Editor, is "owing to the exceptional character of Hariri's remarkable composition. In a quaint, and frequently highly-amusing, form, sparkling with genuine wit, and, in its best passages, soaring to the loftiest summits of sublime thought and sentiment, it contains an Encyclopædia *in nuce* of the scholarship of his age and (A. D. 1054-1122) people, and is couched in a language saturated with the classical idioms of the Qurân, of Arabic poetry and of the proverbs of the desert Arabs."

The principle adopted by Dr. Steingass is that of gradually dropping the signs of punctuation and vocalisation, till little more than the *sukûn*, and, in certain cases, the *tashdîd* and *maddah*, is left. A vocabulary to the last ten Assemblies, compiled from de Sacy's commentary and various native sources, is supplied, and will be found very useful. "This



vocabulary," says Dr. Steingass, "is intended to prepare the aspiring young Arabist for the study of the native commentaries and lexicographical works."

A synopsis of the metres is prefixed to the text.

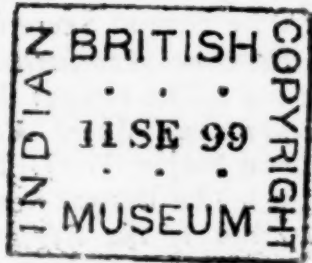
*The Statesman's Diamond Jubilee Year Art Supplement.*

NOTHING in the same line hitherto attempted in India can at all compare, in respect of either scale or workmanship, with the remarkable Art Supplement that has been issued free by the *Statesman* newspaper of this city to its subscribers, in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee.

The Supplement consists of four large sheets sumptuously printed in colours, in which a series of views of noteworthy places and buildings, in Calcutta and other parts of India, interspersed with pictorial representations of various types of the population and photographs of local industries and business premises, are arranged about appropriate centre-pieces. One of these centre-pieces represents a panorama of Calcutta, as seen from the maidan, and another a view of the Metropolis from the river and part of the river itself, while a third consists of a coloured portrait of the Queen-Empress, surrounded by admirable photographs of the Viceroy and Lady Elgin and Sir Alexander and Lady Mackenzie, and the fourth is a portrait of Her Majesty with the Royal Arms and national standards.

Among the views those of the Golden Temple of Amritsar, the Water Palace at Udaipur, the Taj at Agra, and Benares, as seen from the river, which form the corner-pieces of the fourth sheet, are specially effective and may be pronounced triumphs of block printing in colours.

The Supplement, which has been produced at a cost quite unprecedented in this country, and of which 80,000 impressions have been struck, affords an example of journalistic enterprise on the part of the Proprietors of the *Statesman* of which India may well be proud.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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